

ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND

Edited by J. HALL PLEASANTS, M. D.

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Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly
of Maryland, 1752-1754.

The fiftieth volume of Maryland Archives, just off the press, is a worthy companion to those which have preceded it. It is the twenty-third volume of the sub-series dealing with Assembly affairs and is a handsome quarto volume of six hundred and sixty-two pages. As in other recent volumes of the work it is prefaced with a scholarly *resume* of the contents, by the Editor.

The publication of the fiftieth volume of such a series is a matter of more than passing interest and should be a subject of gratulation to the citizens of the State at large, as it is an honor to the Maryland Historical Society, which has every reason to be proud of its stewardship of our State's invaluable archives.

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MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY.

The following résumé of Godefroy's work was written by him at the instance of Mr. Ebenezer Jackson of Middletown, Connecticut, when Godefroy was visiting Mr. Jackson in Paris. The original is now owned by Miss Mary Selina Jackson as part of the Jackson family papers.

The sketch is in five sections: a brief introduction, a review of Godefroy's work in America, in England, in France, and an Appendix in which he explains the causes that led to his exile to the United States.

The English translation is by Dr. Gilbert Chinard of The Johns Hopkins University, the Comments on the text are by Carolina V. Davison. The quotations from the unpublished letters of Benjamin Henry Latrobe have been made possible through the generous co-operation of Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe.

INDICATION DES PIÈCES JUSTIFICATIVES.

Paris le Janvier 1837.

“ C’est un homme méritant, dites-vous?
 “ mais, avant tout, *Est-il heureux?* Sans
 “ cela je ne ferai rien pour lui.”

Mot du Cardinal Mazarin.

S’il est toujours difficile de parler de soi convenablement, il n’est pas moins décourageant d’avoir à l’entreprendre lorsque d’étranges circonstances exigent l’exposé, même le plus sommaire d’une longue série de vicissitudes; quand, pourtant, c’est de l’intérêt qu’elles peuvent inspirer que dépend le sort de celui qui le réclame.—Aussi, sans les devoirs que m’impose *ce qui me reste* de Famille, saurais-je abandonner à des traces, qui dureront plus que moi, le soin d’attester ce que j’ai fait pour l’honneur des Arts, même pour celui de ma Patrie, *sur les terres étrangères*, et de rapprocher de l’oubli que j’éprouve une carrière assez honorablement jalonnée, depuis 40 années, pour avoir du produire un tout autre résultat.¹

Enthousiaste des Arts, je leur ai constamment dévoué une partie du tems et des veilles que reclamaient de moi beaucoup d’autres études.

Elevé dans les principes qui étaient les dernières Egides de nos Libertés avant 1789; J’ai salué la chute de la Bastille, et la Constitution de 1791, comme l’aurore de l’Espérance—l’Indépendance de Caractère; des principes trop peu élastiques pour pouvoir obéir à la variété de ceux qui se détônaient et se proscrivaient si rapidement, m’ont fait immoler l’ambition et attiré ces persécutions qui ont honoré tant d’hommes, depuis respectés.

¹ Entr’autres témoignages publics dans diverses productions littéraires, pendant les 15 dernières années on peut citer: en Angleterre—Le Magazine de Londres, La Revue d’Edinbourg, Le Magazine de Blackwood, Les Voyages de Wright; et en France: Celui du Gal La Fayette sur Etats-Unis; tome 1, page 351, et la traduction de celui de Mme Trollope en Amérique.

INDICATION OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

Paris, January, 1837.

"He is a worthy man, you say? but first of all,
Is he lucky? Otherwise I shall do nothing for him."

Words of Cardinal Mazarin.

If it is always difficult to speak becomingly of oneself, it is no less discouraging to have to attempt it when unusual circumstances demand even the briefest recital of a long series of vicissitudes; when in spite of all, the fate of the narrator depends upon the interest it may inspire. Consequently, regardless of my duty to *what remains* of my family, I could leave to this remnant which will outlive me the task of testifying to what I have done for the honor of the Arts, even for that of my own country, *on foreign soil*, and of rescuing from the oblivion to which I have been consigned, a career sufficiently distinguished for the last forty years to have merited a very different fortune.¹

An enthusiast of the arts, I have constantly devoted to them a part of the time and vigils demanded of me by numerous other studies.

Brought up on principles which were the mainstay of our Liberties before 1789, I greeted the fall of the Bastille and the Constitution of 1791 as the dawn of Hope—Independence of Character;—these principles, not elastic enough to permit me to obey the caprices of those who were themselves so rapidly overthrown and proscribed, caused me to sacrifice my ambition, and brought upon me persecutions which have honored so many men, since then respected.

¹ Among other public evidences in various literary publications during the last 15 years, may be cited: in England:

The London Magazine; *The Edinburgh Review*. [These references have not been identified.]

Blackwood's Magazine. [V. 17, April, 1825, p. 414.]

Wright. *Views of Society and Manners in America* . . . 1818, 1819, and 1820. London, 1821, pp. 489, 495-496.

[Levasseur] *Lafayette en Amérique, en 1824 et 1825*. Paris, 1829. V. 1, p. 351.

Trollope. *Domestic Manners of the Americans*. 2d. ed. London, 1832. V. 1, pp. 295-296.

C'est par ces mêmes causes que je fus enfin frappé d'un *Exil arbitraire*, dont je devrai, plus bas, *exhumer* quelques circonstances, parce qu'elles me valurent aussi l'estime de toutes les opinions généreuses; ² et ce fût sur le sol des *Etats-Unis* que j'obtins d'aller jouir de cette *sage et véritable Liberté*, après laquelle, depuis longtemps, déjà, mes inclinations m'avaient fait si vivement aspirer.

AMÉRIQUE.

C'est là que, mettant à profit les études que, dans des tems plus heureux, j'avais consacrées avec une égale passion; soit aux séduisantes illusions d'une Âme qui appréciait la gloire, Soit au Culte des Beaux-Arts, je trouvai sous le Pavillon de la Liberté Américaine, et la consolation, et des ressources contre les orages qui avaient détruit mon avenir.

Appelé bientôt après mon arrivée, en 1805, par une des plus célèbres Universités des Etats-unis à concourir, dans ce Pays-neuf à l'*Instruction Publique*, comme Professeur d'architecture Civile et Militaire, et des Beaux-Arts; un *Diplôme d'honneur et Spécial*, que me décerna ce Corps respecté, atteste quels purent être le succès de mes *Cours*, pendant douze années.³

Ce fut pour cette université que, en 1806 et 1807, je construisis la Chapelle de St^e Marie: *Premier Edifice Gothique* qui ait été élevé dans cette partie du Monde, et dont le dessin, en aquarelle, Exposé à l'Académie-Royale de Londres, et ensuite à Paris, à la *sur-intendance des Beaux-Arts*, en 1827, a mérité d'être alors accueilli (ainsi que mes autres ouvrages), par de grands talens, et honorablement mentionné dans un *Rapport officiel*, demandé sur mes travaux, par le Ministre de la Maison du Roi, à l'un de M. M. les Architectes de la Couronne.⁴

Depuis cette 1^{re} époque, et pendant une résidence de 15 années à Baltimore, j'ai été chargé d'*Eriger* et de préparer

² Voir l'appendice.

³ Diplôme Latin de l'Université Française de St^e Marie, de Baltimore.

⁴ Ce dessin, déposé à Paris, peut y être produit, ainsi que le rapport de M^r Luré, du 5 mars 1827.

For this same reason I was finally condemned to *arbitrary exile*, of this I shall in the following account *exhume* several circumstances, for they merit me the esteem of all the generous-minded; ² and I was granted permission to go to the *United States*, to enjoy that *wise and true liberty* for which I had so long and ardently yearned.

AMERICA.

It was there that, putting to profit the studies to which, in happier times, I had devoted an equal passion; whether to the seductive illusions of a Soul appreciative of glory, or to the cult of the Fine Arts, I found under the banner of American liberty consolation and resources against the storms that had destroyed my future.

Called soon after my arrival, in 1805, by one of the most celebrated Universities in the United States to contribute, in this new country, to the *public instruction* as professor of civil and military architecture, and of the Fine Arts, a *special honorary diploma* awarded me by this respected Body testifies to the success of my *courses* during 12 years.³

It was for this university that, in 1806 and 1807, I constructed the Chapel of St. Mary, the *first Gothic edifice* erected in that part of the world, the design of which, in watercolors, exhibited at the Royal Academy of London, and then in Paris at the *superintendence of the Beaux-Arts*, in 1827, was deemed worthy to be well received (as were my other works) by eminent artists, and was honorably mentioned in an *official report* on my work made, at the request of the Minister of the Maison du Roi, by one of the architects of the Crown.⁴

Since this first period, and during a residence of 15 years at Baltimore, I was charged with the *erection* and preparation of

² See Appendix.

³ Latin diploma of St. Mary's French University of Baltimore.

⁴ This design, deposited in Paris, can be produced there, as can likewise the report of M. Luré, dated March 5, 1827.

d'importantes constructions *Monumentales et Nationales*, aux Inscriptions desquelles mon nom reste attaché.*

Parmi ces édifices, outre l'Eglise, dite Chapelle de S^{te} Marie, et-dessus mentionnée, l'on peut citer, dans le Maryland: 2^o le Monument-Public (*Battle-Monument*) d'environ 60 pieds de haut, et en Marbre, élevé sur la Place de l'hotel-de-Ville de Baltimore, à la mémoire des Citoyens qui périrent, en 1813, dans la défense de cette cité—Les Sculptures en ont été exécutées d'après mes Esquisses, par le Célèbre *Capellano*, sculpteur des Rois d'Espagne Charles IV et Joseph Napoléon, alors en Amérique lui-même.

—3^o Le *Temple des Unitaires*, dans la même ville.

—4^o La *Banque du Gouvernement*—Idem.

—5^o La *Banque du Commerce et des Fermiers*—Idem.

à *Richmond. Capitale de la Virginie*:

—6^o le Vaste Parc, que j'établis par ordre de l'Etat, sur un Mont rapide, alors coupé de profonds précipices, au milieu desquels se trouvait le Capitole.⁵

—7^o de plus Le *Palais de Justice*.

—8^o Enfin, le projet demandé et adopté par l'Etat de Virginie; mais dont les circonstances de 1819 ont fait Suspendre l'exécution, d'un Monument triomphal, et d'imposante dimension à la mémoire du Général Washington, au sommet de ce même Parc.

J'ai aussi fourni les grands Projets, qui ont également fixé l'attention publique, pour divers Monuments au général Washington, [sic] pour la Banque Centrale du Gouvernement à Philadelphie, ou pour la *Bourse* de Baltimore⁶ ayant eu le dégoût de voir ce dernier édifice deshonoré par des changements choquants, pendant sa construction, je l'ai abandonnée, peu avant mon départ pour l'Europe, et je dois dire pourquoi.

* Voir les notes 1 et 4.

⁵ Les plans du terrain primitif et du Parc, exécuté par terrasses, peuvent être produits.

⁶ Les débris avariés de ces grands projets, sauvés d'un naufrage, peuvent pourtant être encore produits.

important *national and monumental* constructions, and my name appears in their inscriptions.*

Among these edifices, besides the church known as St. Mary's Chapel mentioned above, may be cited in Maryland: 2. the Public Monument (*Battle Monument*) about 60 ft. high and of marble, erected in the Court House Square in Baltimore, to the memory of the citizens who perished in 1813, in the defense of that city. The sculptures on it were executed from my sketches by the celebrated *Capellano*, sculptor of the Kings of Spain, Charles IV and Joseph Napoleon, who was then in America.

3. The *Unitarian Temple* in the same city.
4. The *Government Bank*, idem.
5. The *Commercial and Farmers' Bank*, idem.

In Richmond, the capital of Virginia

6. The vast park which I laid out by order of the State, on a steep slope then broken by sharp precipices; in the middle of this park was the Capitol.⁵

7. The *Court House*.

8. Finally, the project of a triumphal monument of imposing dimensions, to the memory of General Washington, on the summit of this same park, was ordered and accepted by the State of Virginia, but its execution was suspended because of the circumstances of 1819.

I have also furnished great plans, which have likewise attracted public attention, for various monuments to General Washington, for the Central Bank of the Government at Philadelphia, or for the *Exchange* at Baltimore; ⁶ having had the displeasure to see this last edifice dishonored by shocking changes during its construction, I abandoned it shortly before my departure for Europe, and I must say why.

* See notes 1 and 4.

⁵ The plans of the layout of this land and of the park, completed by terraces, can be produced.

⁶ The damaged fragments of these great plans saved from shipwreck, can still be produced.

Le Sur-intendant des Edifices publics à Washington, Siège du Gouvernement, avait été remercié: Il était père d'une nombreuse famille: L'administration m'avait *fait offrir sa place*: loin de l'accepter, j'écrivis au Président des Etats-Unis (M^r Madison) pour Solliciter en faveur de L'ancien titulaire: Il fut réintégré, et c'est lui qui vient sourdement suggérer les dégouts qui je viens d'indiquer et qui devaient amener la résolution que je pris et le mit en mesure de me remplacer. Pour l'honneur des deux nations, je dois ajouter que cet ingrat n'était ni Français ni Américain. [This passage refers to Benjamin Henry Latrobe.]

Comme *Ingénieur-Militaire*, j'ai été honoré d'une confiance particulière par le *Gouvernement-Général* des Etats-Unis, pendant leur dernière Guerre J'ai Servi les Vieux Drapeaux de l'Indépendance américaine, Sous les majors-Généraux *Scott & Smith*, avec rang de Colonel,*—Et un témoignage écheppé aux désastres d'une traversée déplorable, prouve que c'est avec honneur et à la Satisfaction du pays, que je l'ai servi dans ses moments de dangers.⁷

Sur ces divers genres de travaux, je crois pouvoir en appeler avec confiance à l'opinion dont le *Général Bernard*, les a Souvent honorés, et à la bienveillance qu'il m'a encore récemment témoignée—Si ces opérations considerables, puis qu'elles montent de 5 à 6 millions, ont été trop peu rémunérées pour ma fortune; c'est parce que je ne me suis jamais mêlé d'*Entreprises*, et que je n'ai jamais cultivé les arts que pour eux-mêmes. Mais j'en ai recueilli, du moins, quelques compensations qui ne sont pas Sans prix, et parmi lesquelles je puis compter les titres de *Membre de l'Academie de Philadelphie; de la Société des Arts des Etats-unis*, qui ne furent décernés par acclamation;⁸ et enfin de *l'Université de Baltimore*.

* NaBe Vers 1806 ou 1807 j'ai publié un Essai sur les légions, qui fut favorablement accueilli du Public.

⁷ Certificat du Major-Général Smith, août 1819.

⁸ à défaut de ces 2 diplômes, qui ont été perdus à la mer, l'on a conservé des pièces imprimées qui y suppléent en partie.

The *Superintendent* of Public Buildings at Washington, the seat of the government, had been dismissed; he was the father of a large family; the administration *had offered me his place*; far from accepting it, I wrote to the President of the United States (Mr. Madison) to solicit in favor of the former incumbent. He was reinstated, and it was he who, behind my back, suggested these objectionable modifications, brought about the resolution which I took, and put himself in the way to replace me. For the honor of the two nations I must add that this ingrate was neither French nor American. [This paragraph refers to Benjamin Henry Latrobe.]

As *military engineer* I was honored by the special confidence of the *general government* of the United States during their last war. I served the old flags of American independence, under Major-Generals *Scott* and *Smith*, with the rank of Colonel; * and a certificate which escaped the disasters of a deplorable crossing, proves that it was with honor and to the satisfaction of the country that I served it in its time of danger.⁷

On these various types of work, I believe I am able to refer with confidence to the opinion with which *General Bernard* ** has often honored them, and to the kindness which he has again recently testified. If these considerable undertakings, since they amounted to from 5 to 6 millions, have brought too little remuneration for my fortune, it is because I have never mixed in *business*, but have cultivated the arts solely for themselves. I have nevertheless received some compensations which are not without value, and among them I can mention the titles of *Member of the Academy of Philadelphia*; of the *Society of Arts of the United States*, which were not awarded by acclamation;⁸ and finally, of the *University of Baltimore*.

* N. B. In 1806 or 1807 I published an *Essay* on these companies which was well received by the public.

⁷ Certificate of Major-General Smith, August, 1819.

[** Simon Bernard, 1779-1839, was an aide-de-camp of Napoleon and served as such at Waterloo. During the Restoration he lived in the United States. He returned to France in 1830, and in 1836 was Minister of War under Louis Philippe.]

⁸ In the absence of these two diplomas which were lost at sea, printed notices supplementing them in part, have been preserved.

Néanmoins ces témoignages ne Suffisent pas quand la Révolution financière qu'éprouvèrent les Etats-Unis, en 1819, m'y laissa Sans retraite, Sans emploi et Sans fortune : car mon beau-père, (Le Savant Docteur Crawford) n'avait guère laissé pour héritage qu'on nom ancien qu'il avait fait respecter, et le *Monument que la Reconnaissance Publique éleva* (en 1815) à la *mémoire de Ses bienfaits* ; plus honorables qu'utiles, maintenant à ceux qui, pourtant, lui étaient chers.

C'est à cette Secousse imprévenue que j'ai dû la nécessité de Venir en Angleterre, Patrie de ma femme, dans l'Espérance d'y trouver encore, par l'exercice de l'architecture, les ressources que l'Amérique ne pouvait plus m'offrir pendant plusieurs années à venir ; car tous les travaux y étaient arrêtés, et le trait d'*ingratitude*, que j'ai dû mentionner (page 182), m'otait les Seuls que j'eusse alors.

Telles sont les causes impérieuses qui me forcèrent à quitter ce pays des mes prédilections ; telles sont les *Racines* que j'y ai laissées ; et qui, vers la fin de 1830, m'avaient offert quelques Chances d'y être envoyé, par le nouveau Gouvernement, avec quelqu'avantage pour moi et quelqu'utilité, peut être, pour mon Pays ; puisque j'avais eu assez de temps et d'occasions pour bien connaître celui-là.

ANGLETERRE.

Après une navigation lamentable qui nous enleva, non Seulement effets, Bibliothèque, Collections de Tableaux originaux, plus de 2000 gravures de maîtres, et les Etudes de ma vie entière ; mais qui nous laissa une douleur incurable par la perte d'une fille unique ; arrivés à Londres nous y fûmes suivis par l'avis d'une Banqueroute frauduleuse, qui dépouillait ma femme des restes de son modeste Patrimoine.

Pour pallier ces coups accumulés, j'eus recours aux Beaux-arts ; Je me présentai sous le Voile de l'anonyme, dans un concours proposé pour la Construction d'un Vaste *hotel et tribunal de la Gabelle* ; (Salters-company) et, sur 63 ou 65 concurrents distingués, mon projet reçut un prix honorable.⁹

⁹ Les dessins sont, en partie, à Paris et peuvent être produits (Voir aussi la note 4).

However, these honors did not suffice when the financial revolution experienced by the United States in 1819 left me there without shelter, without employment, without fortune, for the legacy of my father-in-law (the learned Dr. Crawford) was hardly more than an ancient name which he had caused to be respected, and the *monument that public gratitude raised* (in 1815) *to the memory of his benefactions*, more honorable than useful now, to those who were dear to him.

Because of this unforeseen blow, I was forced to come to England, the land of my wife, in the hope of finding there, by work as an architect, opportunities which America would be unable to offer me for several years to come; for all work there had stopped, and the instance of *ingratitude* which I was compelled to speak of (p. 183), deprived me of the only opportunities that I might, at that time, have had.

Such are the imperious reasons that forced me to leave the land of my choice; such are the *roots* I have left, and which, towards the end of 1830 offered me some chance of being sent there by the new Government, with some advantage for myself and usefulness for my country, since I had had time and occasion to be well acquainted with the United States.

ENGLAND.

After a lamentable crossing that not only carried off our belongings, library, collection of original paintings, more than 2000 engravings by masters, and the studies of my lifetime—but caused us an inconsolable grief through the loss of an only daughter—we arrived in London and were informed of a fraudulent bankruptcy which stripped my wife of the remainder of her modest patrimony.

To recoup from this accumulation of misfortunes, I had recourse to the fine arts; I participated anonymously in a competition for the proposed construction of a large house and Court for the Salters company, and among 63 or 65 distinguished competitors, my plan received an honorable award.⁹

⁹ Part of the drawings are in Paris, and can be produced. (See also note 4.)

Je construisis à Londres les *Ecoles Catholiques de Charité*, dont la première pierre fut posée en présence de tous les Ambassadeurs Catholiques, en 1825.¹⁰

Puis, près de Worcester un Presbytère de Prébendiers, en Style Gothique, par ordre du Chapitre anglican de Westminster.

Les dessins, non seulement *d'architecture*; mais des *grandes vues*, que j'avais faites d'après nature de quelques Sites curieux de l'amérique; et même de quelques *compositions*, Pittoresques, ayant été Exposés à l'academie-Royale de Londres, y furent assez remarqués, pour que je fusse chargé par l'Ambassade française de présenter le *Projet* d'une *Chapelle de France à Londres*. Ce *Projet* fut approuvé, agréé, mais non exécuté, faute d'allocation de la part du Gouvernement auquel il avait été porté et Soumis par M^r l'Ambassadeur, lui-même.¹¹

Les revers que nous avons éprouvés, en quittant l'Amérique, rendait insuffisants les fruits que je retirais de mon travail en Angleterre, où, avec de trop faibles ressources, j'avais à me frayer un nouveau chemin, je cédai aux instances qui me pressaient de repasser en France; c'est que l'on croyait que l'estime, qui sillonnant mes traces, pourrait m'y devenir une recommandation suffisante pour m'y faire trouver—*non des sinécures*: je n'en aurais pas demandé;—mais de l'emploi analogue aux connaissances que j'avais, *aussi notoirement qu'amplement justifiées* dans la Pratique des Arts et même dans l'Instruction Publique.¹²

FRANCE.

Arrivé à Paris, au commencement de 1827, on ne m'y refusa pas la considération; et j'en ai reçu plus d'un témoignage flatteur: On parla même de *récompenses chères à l'honneur*.¹³ Et peut-être, les Dossiers du Ministère de l'Intérieur—ou des travaux-Publics,—pourraient-ils prouver que *depuis 1830*, l'on ne m'a pas cru indigne de la même distinction: Mais le fatal éloignement où j'ai été jeté; l'isolement de tous rapports avec la Science; et le Silence du découragement et de l'indignation, m'ont éclipsé, sur ce point comme sur tout autre.

¹⁰ Voir la note 9.

¹² Voir la note 3.

¹¹ Voir les notes 4 et 9.

¹³ [Croix de la Légion d'honneur?]

In London I constructed the *Catholic Schools of Charity*, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1825, in the presence of all the Catholic ambassadors.¹⁰

Then, near Worcester, a rectory for the Prebendaries, in Gothic style, by order of the Anglican chapter at Westminster.

Sketches, not only *architectural*, but *large scenes* of several curious places in America, which I drew from nature, and also several picturesque *compositions* were exhibited at the Royal Academy of London, and there attracted such attention that I was charged by the French Ambassador to submit a *plan* for a *French chapel in London*. This plan was approved and accepted, but not executed, for lack of an allocation by the Government to which it had been referred and submitted by the Ambassador himself.¹¹

The reverses suffered by us after leaving America rendered insufficient the fruits of my labors in England, where, with slender resources, I had to begin life anew, so I yielded to earnest solicitations to return to France; for it was believed that the esteem in which I was held by all with whom I came into contact, might there be recommendation enough to enable me to find, *not sinecures*—I would not have asked for such—but employment befitting my talents, which I had *both notably and amply justified* in the practice of the arts, and even in public instruction.¹²

FRANCE.

When I arrived in Paris in the beginning of 1827, I was not denied consideration; I received more than one flattering evidence of it. They even spoke of *recompense dear to honor*,¹³ and perhaps the records of the Minister of the Interior or of Public Works may prove that *since 1830* I have not been considered unworthy of the same distinction. But the fatal remoteness of the place to which I have been sent, my isolation from all scientific contacts, and the silence resulting from my discouragement and indignation have kept me obscure in this respect as in all others.

¹⁰ See note 9.

¹¹ See notes 4 and 9.

¹² See note 3.

¹³ [The cross of the Legion of Honor?]

Quoiqu'il en soit, peu fait pour le rôle de Solliciteur, et quoique je ne demandasse que du travail, je crus échapper, en 1827, toute Servitude en m'empressant d'accepter l'humble fonction d'*Architecte de la Ville de Rennes*, que je dûs à la recommandation de l'un de MM. les Inspecteurs-Généraux des Batiments civils. (M^r Rohault de Fleury.)

Mon Etoile me Suivit à Rennes: On m'y demanda des devis *fictifs*, pour de Vastes projets—Je ne crus pas devoir hésiter à présenter les dépenses *Vraies*, quelque fut le danger évident dont me menaçait cette résolution—Elle ouvrit les yeux du Conseil-municipal, qui refusa les fonds—mon sort ne dépendait que d'une *Seule volonté*, dont cette démarche contrariait, non la probité, mais les idées exagérées et absolues; et je perdis, cette modeste position—J'en fus dédommagé, il est vrai, par les *Remerciements solennels que la Ville de Rennes me Vota à l'unanimité, en Août 1828.*¹⁴ Mais n'ayant eu jusques là qu'à satisfaire aux frais de 3 Employés; de déplacement et de premier Etablissement; je ne m'en trouvai pas moins obéré, sans emploi, et assailli de Soucis et d'embarras.

L'Impression favorable que cette circonstance produisit dans le département voisin de la Mayenne, qui jusqu'alors, n'avait pas encore connu d'Architecte en titre, me valut l'honneur d'y être demandé par le Conseil-Général, comme *Architecte du Département*.

Telle est la fonction que je remplis depuis 1829, à Laval, en vertu d'une commission de Monsieur le Ministre du Commerce et des Travaux-Publics; laquelle, pourtant, n'offre nulle protection [sic] quelconque.

Cet emploi ne donne que Deux mille francs fixes, sans *nul 20^{eme}*,¹⁵ et ces 2000 fr. ne sont que *Fictifs*: puisqu'il sont *grévés* de frais de *tournées, d'Employés* et de *Bureau*; et parce que l'on m'a compté *comme partie de mon fixe*, une Somme de 2000 fr. qui m'avait été allouée, pour *frais de déplacement et de premier Etablissement*.—aussi, pendant les premières années, ne m'est pas resté plus de 600 francs *effectifs*! Et depuis, en me privant de toute assistance, souvent nécessaire, ne me reste-il pas 1500

¹⁴ Les Pièces officielles peuvent être produites.

¹⁵ 5%.

Be that as it may, while hardly fitted for the role of solicitor, and although I requested only work, I thought to escape all servitude in eagerly accepting the humble post of *architect of the city of Rennes*, which I owed to the recommendation of one of the Inspectors General of public buildings (M. Rohault de Fleury).

My evil star followed me to Rennes. I was commanded to give *false* estimates for vast projects. I did not think it necessary to hesitate to present the *real* figures, in spite of the evident danger impending from that resolution. The eyes of the Municipal Council were opened; they refused the funds—my fate depended on *one person*, whom my action had vexed, not because of his probity, but because of his exaggerated and tyrannical ideas; so I lost that modest position. I was compensated, it is true, by *the solemn thanks which the city of Rennes unanimously voted me in August 1828*.¹⁴ But having had until then just enough to pay the expense of three employés, of travelling, and first establishment, I found myself none the less burdened with debt, without employment, and harassed by worries and embarrassments.

The favorable impression produced by this affair in the neighboring Department of Mayenne, which had not hitherto had an official architect, brought me the honor of appointment by the General Council as *Architect of the Department*.

Such is the office I have held at Laval since 1829, by virtue of a commission from the Minister of Commerce and Public Works, which, however, offers no protection whatsoever.

This office pays a fixed salary of only 2000 francs, *without any 20eme*,¹⁵ and the 2000 francs are really only *nominal*, since out of them must come *travelling expenses, employés' salaries* and upkeep of the *office*. Because they had included *as part of my salary* a sum of 2000 francs allotted me for *removal and establishment*, during the first years I had actually only 600 francs. Since then, by depriving myself of all assistance, often

¹⁴ The official documents can be produced.

¹⁵ 5%.

francs, par an, pour satisfaire aux besoins du présent, et un *Déficit*, résultat forcé d'un tel *Passé*!

En 1831, M^r Saulmier, alors notre Préfet, touché de cette position, obtint du Conseil Général 400 fr. par an d'indemnité pour couvrir mes frais de tournées; mais cette allocation quoique ratifiée par Monsieur le Ministre, me fut retirée Six mois après, par un nouveau Conseil-général, et sous un Préfet nouveau; avec l'effet rétroactif, assez extraordinaire, auquel j'ai dû me soumettre en silence, de me faire sur mes 2,000 francs de fixe, la Retenue des 200 francs que j'avais reçus pour le premier semestre dans l'année précédente!

L'Esprit d'ordre et d'économie, auquel ce pays doit sa prospérité [sic], ses vertus mêmes, ne m'y offrant que de telles ressources, et nulle autre quelconque; je n'ai qu'à y languir, accablé de Rhabillages vétilleux; de minuties aussi exigeants que *Anti-Artistiques*, et désespérantes pour moi, qui n'avais jamais fait que des Constructions classiques et monumentales, sans carrière, ni pour le goût, ni pour la Réputation; séquestré de tous rapports scientifiques; sans loisir, sans possibilité de rien produire qui puisse alimenter l'âme, ni me rassurer sur un avenir effrayant, ni, enfin, me délivrer de l'inertie dévorante où je m'éteins, découragé, dans l'obscurité et l'oubli.

Et pourtant, cet emploi si stérile et si médiocre, on le voit, n'est il encore que *Précaire*, puisque, depuis les dernières années, il est constamment mis en question et menacé d'une Réforme, qui me priverait même de cette *Demi-Ration* de pain abreuvée de tant d'amertumes et plus d'une fois d'humiliations, qui ne devaient pas m'être connues.

C'est en vain que des *Rapports* aux Conseils-Généraux ou des *Circulaires* aux Maires, ont été adressés par plusieurs de M. M. les Préfets, dans les termes les plus bienveillants et les plus flatteurs pour moi: rien n'a pu changer ce Sort si insuffisant, si incertain, et si désespérant pour quiconque éprouve également la passion des Arts, et le besoin du nécessaire.¹⁶

¹⁶ Lettre circulaire de M^r le Vicomte de Lezardière Sbre 1829. Rapport de M^r Saulmier au Conseil-Général, 1830, et 1831. Pièces imprimées et qui peuvent être produites.

necessary, there remains for me but 1500 francs a year to meet current expenses and, naturally, a *deficit from such a past*.

In 1831 M. Saulmier, then our Prefect, touched by this situation, obtained from the General Council 400 francs a year as a reimbursement for travelling expenses, but this allotment, although ratified by the Minister, *was withdrawn six months later* by a new General Council under a new Prefect, with a *retroactive provision*, rather extraordinary, and to which I had to submit in silence, causing me to make, *out of my fixed 2000 francs, a refund of 200 francs* received by me for the first semester of the preceding year.

The spirit of order and economy to which this country owes its prosperity, and its very virtues, offers me only such resources and none other; I can but languish, crushed by tedious repairing and minutiae as wearisome as they are *anti-artistic* and distressing to me, who had specialized in classic and monumental constructions; no career either for artistic endeavor or for reputation is now open to me. I am removed from all scientific contacts, without leisure, with no possibility of producing anything to satisfy the soul or reassure me against a *terrifying future*, or, finally, to release me from the wasting inertia which is devouring me, here, forgotten and in obscurity.

And yet this employment, so sterile and so mediocre, is, as can be seen, *uncertain*, since for the last several years it has been constantly *called into question* and threatened with a reform that would deprive me of even this *half-ration* of bread, so soaked with gall, and more than once with humiliations which should have been unknown to me.

In vain have *reports* to the General Councils and *circulars* to the mayors been addressed by several Prefects, in terms most flattering to me; nothing has been able to improve this situation so inadequate and uncertain, and so devastating for anyone who feels equally a passion for the arts, and the pinch of poverty.¹⁶

¹⁶ Circular letter of the Viscount de Lezardière, October, 1829. Report of M. Saulmier to the General Council, 1830 and 1831. Printed papers, which can be produced.

Telle est l'Etrange sphère, ou plutôt la Torture, dans laquelle se traîne mon existence, faute, non de *Titres* et de *Droits*; on l'a vu; non faute de rapports respectables, car dans mon naufrage j'en ai encore assez de tels pour devoir présenter une garantie, plus que Suffisante: Mais c'est faute seulement d'un *Patronage* dont le désir puisse imposer l'attention.

Je dois ajouter, que la masse des Faits et Travaux que je n'ai pu qu'indiquer si incomplètement ici, m'avait, du moins, valu, lors de mon retour en France, en 1827 d'être nommé *Pensionnaire du Roi*: ce n'était que pour l'humble somme de 600 francs—depuis 1831 *elle a cessé d'être payée*; car je n'ai pas dû m'exposer à la double humiliation de la demande d'un *Certificat d'Indigence*—(que les Républiques d'autrefois n'auraient pas exigé de leurs Artistes), et du refus qui m'en eût été fait, Vu le *Cumul* qu'aurait présente le *Salaire* dont je viens de faire assez connaître toute l'insuffisance.

C'est dans cette position que je me présente pour solliciter les moyens d'en sortir:

Me serait-il impossible d'obtenir un emploi, modeste, mais du moins suffisant, et qui pût me permettre encore de m'occuper de Science et d'art?

Serait-il possible de trouver ce moyen, soit dans l'un des Emplois de *Sous-Conservateurs du nouveau musée de Versailles*? soit dans une place d'*architecte-conservateur de quelque château Royal*?—ou bien dans quelques *Bureaux* de la Direction des Beaux-Arts de la *sur-Intendance de la Maison du Roi*?—ou enfin dans l'administration des Travaux-Publics, au *Ministère de l'Intérieur*, ou dans quelque Commission relative aux Beaux-arts; telle pourrait-être celle projetée, dit-on, pour l'examen de la *Restauration des Anciens Monuments de France*? Tels Sont les objets sur lesquels j'invoque les sentiments de quiconque connaît les arts, peut les aimer véritablement et Sympathiser avec l'honneur oublié.

Such is the strange sphere, or rather the Torture, in which I drag out my existence, due, not to a lack of *rights* and *attainments*, as has been shown, nor to a lack of respectable connections, for even in my ruin I still have enough of them to present a guaranty, more than enough. But it is due solely to lack of a *patronage* whose interest would command attention.

I must add that the facts and works which I have been able only to indicate so incompletely here, did at least result, upon my return to France in 1827, in my being named a *Pensioner of the King*. This was for the modest sum of 600 francs, and since 1831 *it has ceased to be paid*, for I could not endure the double humiliation of requesting a *certificate of indigence* (which the Republics of former times would not have demanded of their artists), and the refusal, because of the *cumul* that would be caused by my *salary*, which I have just shown to be utterly inadequate.

It is in this state of affairs that I present myself in order to petition means for recovery.

Would it be impossible for me to secure a modest position, but with sufficient salary to permit me to apply myself to science and art?

Would it be possible to find these means either in one of the posts of *Assistant-Curator of the Versailles museum*? or in the position of *architect-curator of some royal chateau*?—or again, in some of the *bureaux* of the department of fine arts of the *superintendent of the Maison du Roi*? or finally, in the administration of Public Works of the *Minister of the Interior*, or in some commission connected with the fine arts?—for example, the commission which is reported to be contemplated to consider the *Restoration of the ancient monuments of France*. Such are the subjects for which I appeal to the sentiments of anyone who, knowing the arts, can truly love them and sympathize with unrewarded honor.

APPENDICE.

En commençant cette Notice j'ai palé [sic] *d'Exil*—ce mot exige quelque éclaircissement; Je dois le donner:

J'ai parlé aussi de mes principes avant et depuis 1789; ils sont clairs; ils étaient fondés sur ces mots: *Egalité devant la Loi, Liberté légale, Ordre Public, Union*; et je n'en ai pas changé: J'ai cru, qu'en tout, il fallait laisser quelque chose à faire au Temps; Je le crois encore—Pendant les 1^{res} Compagnes que mon Pays eût à soutenir pour la défense de son Territoire et de son indépendance, je l'a servi sinon avec éclat du moins avec honneur, dans le 18^e Régiment d'Infanterie de Ligne et dans le 5^{eme} de Chasseurs à cheval—ainsi, à cet égard je puis me compter comme l'un des modestes débris de l'ancienne armée.¹⁷

Mais j'ai eu le tort; sous la République, de prévoir que l'abus de la Liberté amènerait le Despotisme Militaire; et sous celui-ci, et malgré des brillants prestiges, si séduisants à mes yeux, de prévoir également l'humiliation et l'Invasion de la Patrie.

J'ai eu le tort, beaucoup plus grand, d'exprimer librement ces pensées; et, quelque *Françaises* qu'elles fussent, elles m'attirèrent les persécutions qui m'ont fait prendre place parmi les *Artistes*—sans vouloir entrer ici dans des détails étrangers à ce *Titre*; Je me dois cependant de rappeler la Seule circonstance suivante; parce quelle a eu, et peut avoir encore, quelque prix aux yeux des âmes généreuses.

En prédisant, malgré les anathèmes du temps, l'extinction de la Liberté, je devais inévitablement perdre la mienne; aussi, après plus d'un danger, devins-je *Prisonnier-d'Etat*, et Sans nulle forme judiciaire, au *Fort de Bellegarde*, situé à la portée du Canon de la résidence qu'occupait, En Espagne, *S. A. S. Madame la Duchesse d'Orléans*.

Cette âme, si belle et si noble, avoit connu la Captivité; elle Subissait l'expatriation; ses Fils avaient eu à supporter l'un et l'autre; les Bastions qui m'environnaient étaient à la vue de son asile; son active et ingénieuse bonté parvint à les franchir; Elle sût qui était le Prisonnier de Bellegarde, et pourquoi il l'était—

¹⁷ quelques certificats existent encore.

APPENDIX.

In beginning this announcement, I spoke of *Exile*—this needs some explanation, and I must give it.

I have also spoken of my principles before and after 1789; they are clear; they were founded on these sentiments: *Equality before the Law; Legal liberty, Public Order, Union*; and I have not changed. I believed, on the whole, that it was necessary to leave some things to Time. I still believe it. During the first campaigns that my country had to engage in for the defense of her territory and her independence, I served her, if not brilliantly, at least honorably, in the *18th Regiment of Infantry* of the Line, and in the *5th Light Cavalry*—so in this respect I may count myself one of the modest remnants of the old army.¹⁷

But I had the *unwisdom*, under the Republic, to foresee that the abuse of liberty would bring forth military despotism, and under the latter, in spite of dazzling illusions so seductive to my eyes, to foresee the humiliation and invasion of the nation.

I had the greater unwisdom to freely express these thoughts; and *French* as they were, they brought upon me persecutions that caused me to enroll myself among the *Artists*. Without wishing to enter here into details foreign to the *subject*, I must nevertheless recall the one incident which follows, for it has had, and may yet have some value in the eyes of generous souls.

In prophesying, despite the anathemas of the time, the extinction of liberty, it was inevitable that I should be deprived of my own; and after more than one danger, I became a *prisoner of the State*. Without any form of judicial procedure whatsoever, I was confined in the *fortress of Bellegarde*, situated a cannon's shot from the residence occupied in Spain by *Her Most Serene Highness the Duchess of Orleans*.

This lovely, noble soul had known captivity; she was expatriated; her sons had suffered both misfortunes; the bastions surrounding me could be seen from her refuge; her wise and active kindness overcame them; she knew who the prisoner of Bellegarde was, and why he was there. So I soon received from

¹⁷ Several certificates still exist.

Je reçus donc bientôt de sa part les preuves des égards les plus honorables et qu'elle croyait propres à consoler de la persécution et des erreurs de la Patrie.

Je m'évadaï de ce fort en 1804; l'angélique Princesse fit suivre mes traces en Espagne en mettant à ma disposition, une felouque Genoïse sur la côte de Barcelonne—J'étais au moment de profiter de cette généreuse et touchante bienveillance, lorsque je fus informé que le Commandant du fort,¹⁸ devait être traduit devant un Conseil de Guerre, comme coupable de mon Evasion; Il en était parfaitement innocent—C'était Un officier qui honorait la France par ses Services et par son humanité; Je ne pouvais supporter la pensée d'attirer sur lui une punition qu'il ne méritait pas—du fond, donc, des montagnes de la *Catalogne*; où ma tête était mise à Prix; où j'étais traqué, comme un bête fauve, par des meutes de chiens; J' adressai une lettre à L'Empereur, annonçant la résolution de venir me rendre volontairement Son Prisonnier; tant pour se mettre à portée de rendre justice au digne Commandant du Fort, que de me Juger lui-même—Je tins parole, et parvins, non sans périls, à me rendre, aux Generaux Laval et Martin, à Perpignan.¹⁹

S. A. S. Madame la Duchesse, m'avait fait parvenir à Perpignan encore, par son chirurgien, accompagné d'un officier-Général Espagnol, l'offre de Son Auguste Protection auprès du Gouvernement Espagnol, lorsque j'obtiendrais ma liberté: j'acceptai avec une profonde reconnaissance et fus provisoirement envoyé au *chateau de l'Ile d'If*, devant Marseille.

Ma lettre à L'Empereur avait été interceptée; je m'y étais attendu; aussi avais-je réussi à en faire parvenir quelques Duplicata à Paris—ainsi L'Empereur instruit, plus tard, qu'il en existait une copie au *Sénat*, et l'ayant demandée, elle lui fut présentée par une Commission de ce Corps dont faisait partie le Général Valenec. *Napoléon* pouvait apprécier cette conduite; il en exprima toute son estime—Je lui avais demandé la permission de passer au Service de l'Espagne, alors notre alliée, ou d'aller exercer les arts dans les Etats-Unis—Il accorda

¹⁸ Le lieutenant-colonel Le Tosne.

¹⁹ Les Preuves officielles de ces divers faits subsistent encore.

her evidences of the highest sentiments which she considered it proper to extend as consolation for the persecution and errors of our country.

I escaped from this fortress in 1804; the angelic Princess traced me in Spain and put at my disposal a Genoise felucca, on the coast of Barcelona. At the moment I was about to profit by this generous and touching kindness, I was informed that the Commandant of the fortress ¹⁸ had been arraigned before a Court Martial, as responsible for my escape. He was perfectly innocent of it. He was an officer who had honored France by his services and by his humanity. I could not endure the thought of bringing upon him an unmerited punishment—so from the depths of the mountains of *Catalonia*, where there was a *price* on my head, and where I had been tracked like a savage beast by *hounds* I addressed a letter to the *Emperor*, announcing my resolution to surrender myself voluntarily as his prisoner, as much in order to enable him to render justice to the worthy Commandant of the Fortress, as *to himself judge me*. I kept my word, and succeeded not without peril, to give myself up to Generals Laval and Martin, at Perpignan.¹⁹

Her Most Serene Highness the Duchess had forwarded to me at Perpignan, by her surgeon accompanied by a Spanish General, the offer of her intercession with the Spanish Government, when I should obtain my liberty. I accepted with profound gratitude, and was provisionally sent to the *Chateau d'If*, at the entrance to Marseilles.

My letter to the Emperor had been intercepted. Expecting this, I had succeeded in forwarding several copies of it to Paris; thus the Emperor learned later that there was a copy of it in the *Senate*, and upon his request, it was presented to him by a committee of that body, of which General Valence was a member. *Napoleon* could appreciate such conduct, and he expressed his whole *approval* of it. I begged his permission to join the army of Spain, then our ally, or to go to the United States to

¹⁸ Lieutenant-Colonel Le Tosne.

¹⁹ Official proofs of these various facts still exist.

ma 1^{re} demande; mais ces intentions dignes de lui, furent machiavéliquement tronquées, par une basse vengeance personnelle; et ce fut un *Ordre* de me rendre en Amérique que je reçus.

J'Étais trop fatigué d'arbitraire de toute espèce, trop enthousiaste des Institutions américaines, pour me laisser persuader de réclamer, comme je l'aurais pu faire avec Succès, contre l'audacieuse perfidie qui me frappait: c'est ainsi que j'ai Subi l'expatriation, dans laquelle, ainsi que l'ont articulé quelques productions Littéraires, que j'ai dû indiquer,²⁰ J'ai eu le bonheur, si *infructueux* pour moi, aujourd'hui; "*d'honorer ma Patrie par des Travaux durables, et par mon Caractère personnel.*" Voilà l'esquisse que j'ai dû me résigner à tracer, et de ma triste Odyssée, et de ce que je suis, et de ce que j'ai fait— Cette conduite et une rare constance de revers, même de fléaux, nous ont engloutis dans un Gouffre, qui ne peut être comparé qu'à celui de *Dufavel*. J'élève la voix pour en être tiré: puisse-t-elle enfin être entendue! ah! sans doute, elle le serait si elle pouvait parvenir jusqu'à *Celui*,²¹ qui, héritier des Vertus de Son Auguste Mère, comme *Elle* voit aussi, dans la Puissance le beau Droit de Protéger ceux qui se dévouent aux Etudes utiles; de rendre Justice à chacun, et de consoler toutes les infortunes honorables.

Maximilien Godefroy

Chez M^r le B^{on} Trigant-de-la-Tour, conseiller référendaire à la Cour des Comptes, rue Pigale, Chaussée d'Antin n^o 8.

Où est déposée une partie des dessins d'architecture, ci dessus mentionnés, et, de plus, celui de la *Bataille de Pultawa* (en 1709), que j'ai composée dans le *chateau d'If*; où, privé de tous matériaux, l'exécution a éprouvé d'extrêmes difficultés; que les artistes ont pu apprécier— Cette pièce a été l'un de mes morceaux de Reception à l'Academie de Philadelphie; elle a été exposée à l'Academie-Royale de Londres en 1821; Vers 1832 au Musée de Paris; et, en 1827, à la Sur-Intendance de la Maison du Roi— Elle est faite sur 120 petits morceaux de papier, rapportés.

²⁰ Voir note 1.

²¹ Louis Philippe, King of the French.

engage in art. He granted my first request, but this action, so worthy of him, was distorted in Machiavelian fashion by a base personal vengeance; and I received an *order* to go to America.

I was too tired of these arbitrary procedures, too enthusiastic for American institutions to allow myself to be persuaded to protest, as I could have successfully done, against the audacious perfidy which had dealt me this blow; thus it was that I submitted to expatriation, and because of this, as appears from several literary publications I have indicated,²⁰ I had the happiness, so barren for me today, "*to honor my country by durable works, and by my personal character.*" This, then, is the sketch that I have obliged myself to make, of my sad Odyssey, of what I am, and of what I have done. My course of action and unusually constant reverses, and even persecutions, have drowned us in a gulf which could only be compared to that of *Dufavel*. I cry aloud for help: O that my voice may finally be heard! ah! doubtless it will be if it can but reach *Him*,²¹ who, heir to the virtues of his August Mother, like *Her* sees in power the noble right of protecting those who consecrate themselves to useful studies; of rendering justice to each, and of consoling all unfortunates who are honorable.

Maximilien Godefroy

At the residence of M. le Baron Trigant-de-la-Tour, Conseiller référendaire to the Cour des Comptes, rue Pigale, Chaussée d'Antin no. 8.

Here is deposited a part of the architectural drawings above mentioned, and also the *Battle of Pultowa* (in 1709) which I painted in the *Chateau d'If*. It was very difficult to execute, for I was deprived of all materials; artists will be able to appreciate this. It was one of my exhibits at the Philadelphia Academy; at the Royal Academy of London in 1821; about 1832 at the Paris Gallery, and in 1827 at the Superintendence of the *Maison du Roi*. It was done on 120 little pieces of paper fitted together.

²⁰ See note 1.

²¹ Louis Philippe, King of the French.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXT

By CAROLINA V. DAVISON

The reference to Godefroy in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* is in the form of a letter to the editor, signed and dated, A. B., London, February 19, 1825. It is of sufficient biographical interest to justify the inclusion of one paragraph in full and one sentence from the concluding paragraph:

While on this subject I feel an irresistible desire to rescue this heroic and truly noble character from the obscurity in which he [*i. e.* Godefroy] is now living in the neighborhood of the metropolis. He indeed deserves a better fate. In the war of La Vendée, he was one of the most distinguished leaders. At his own expense he raised and equipped a regiment for the King, fought, bled, and, after being left for dead on the field, was imprisoned, and ultimately exiled for his unexampled exertions for the Royal cause; but the brightest part of his character remains to be told. After undergoing the horrors of solitary confinement in a fortress in the Pyrenees, Mr. Godefroy (properly Count St. Mard) effected his escape, but being a nobleman of high rank, and determined bravery, his escape was soon discovered, and he was hunted by gens d'armes, and even by bloodhounds, in the mountains, a price set upon his head, and with no sustenance but acorns for 27 days. Providence, however, favored his exertions, and he found himself in a foreign country [*i. e.* Spain] safe from his enemies. In the meantime, the commandant of the fortress had been cited by Fouché to answer for the escape of the prisoner. This reached the ear of the Count, who did not hesitate on the line of conduct he ought to adopt. *He hastened back to his prison and saved the life of his gaoler, at the sacrifice of his own liberty, and (as he had every reason to suppose) of his life.*

His military education led him to the study of fortification, and thence of architecture. . . .

BALTIMORE.

St. Mary's Chapel.

It was in December, 1805, that Godefroy arrived in Baltimore to assume his duties as instructor in architecture and the fine arts at St. Mary's College. That college, though closely

associated with the Sulpician seminary of St. Mary, which was founded in Baltimore in 1791, is not to be confounded with the seminary whose function was and is the training of priests.

St. Mary's College was founded in 1800 as a non-sectarian institution for the education of boys; it was incorporated as a University during the November 1804 session of the Maryland Legislature by an Act passed January 19, 1805.

The Seminary, at the time of Godefroy's arrival, had no fitting edifice to serve the needs of the priests, the parish, or the Catholic pupils of the college, hence he was called upon speedily to prepare designs for St. Mary's Chapel. Its construction was begun in 1806 under Godefroy's supervision.

There has been published recently such an able and comprehensive discussion of the chapel by Mr. William Sener Rusk, Professor of the History of Art, Wells College, that no attempt will be made here to describe the original structure nor the changes that have been made. Mr. Rusk's paper, entitled, *Godefroy and Saint Mary's Chapel, Baltimore*, was published in *Liturgical Arts*, v. 3, no. 3, third quarter, 1933, pp. 140-145. It is illustrated by a plate showing the chapel's façade after Godefroy's original design.

St. Mary's Chapel is one of the few surviving early architectural treasures of Baltimore, and its interest and importance are not merely local as it is reputed to be the first Gothic edifice to be erected in this country.

Mr. Rusk, in discussing the sources of the architect's inspiration, says he may have been influenced by contact with Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Latrobe's unpublished letters would seem to confirm that suggestion; beyond doubt they furnish proof of his active interest throughout the construction of the chapel, and also that Godefroy turned to Latrobe for aid and advice. One may quote from a letter to Godefroy from Latrobe dated May 24, 1808. The latter writes to ask for the return of two sculptors whom he had released to work on St. Mary's Chapel; but the passage quoted has been chosen because of the light it throws upon the estimation placed upon Godefroy's work by a contemporary artist.

Mr. Bridport, an artist of much merit, says everything that is handsome of your chapel. I am impatient to see it. I understand that it has at last like a butterfly crawled out of its chrysalis into a state of exquisite beauty. How did this miracle of conversion take place? I thought that your Priests, God rest their souls! knew and were determined to suffer no beauty but that of holiness. Alas! what will become of my Cathedral? If ever it rises to a perceptible elevation above the ground, so as to overlook the buildings towards the college, it will sink again into the earth with envy of its child, the College Chapel.

Unmistakable evidence that Godefroy sought and received advice from Latrobe during the construction of the chapel may be found in a letter of a much later date. Latrobe writes from Washington on September 14, 1811, "I have seen Mr. Andrée and cannot help being of his opinion that the beautiful altar piece you have sent me cannot well be executed in stucco from the base upwards. It is too slender to be framed and then lathed. . . my own idea is that it should be done in freestone." And on the 20th of the same month Latrobe writes again to Godefroy with further advice as to the actual construction of the altar and the materials to be used.

Battle Monument.

The Battle Monument * stands unchanged, except for the addition of a surrounding wrought-iron fence, upon its original site in the bed of Calvert Street between Lexington and Fayette. It is now flanked on the East by the U. S. post-office and on the West by the Court House; the latter is, however, not the same building which gave the name to the Square during Godefroy's day.

The corner-stone of the monument was laid with appropriate ceremonies September 12, 1815; the surmounting statue, sculptured by Capellano, was not put into place until September 12, 1822. At that period Court House, or Monument Square, was one of the fashionable residential sections of the city, notable

* Several letters, concerning the construction of the monument, from Godefroy and one from Capellano are in the Maryland Historical Society library.

for its atmosphere of dignity and peace. Now it is with difficulty one can find a spot from which to observe Godefroy's work, so steady is the stream of hurrying pedestrians and so unceasing the tide of noisy traffic that sweeps around the monument. O tempora! O mores!

The Unitarian Church.

The Unitarian Church is situated on its original site at the northwest corner of Franklin and Charles Streets. The cornerstone was laid June 5, 1817, and the building was dedicated in 1818. It was reconsecrated October 29, 1893, after the interior had undergone extensive remodelling, and the defective acoustics had been remedied; the exterior remains unchanged.

An Englishman, who visited Baltimore in 1838, gives the following description of the interior of the church which is of particular interest to those who wish to know the character and extent of the alterations that have been made.

The Unitarian place of worship . . . is justly accounted one of the handsomest religious edifices of the city. The building is 108 feet long and 78 feet broad. The portico is of the Tuscan order, with three arched entrances; and in the centre of the pediment which it supports, is a sculptured figure, intended to represent the Angel of Truth, surrounded by rays of light, and holding a scroll on which is inscribed [in Greek characters] "To the only God." From this portico five bronze doors in imitation of those of the Vatican, open into the building, three leading to the body of the edifice, and two to the galleries . . . The interior of the church is a square, formed by four equal arches of 33 feet span, which support a dome [on pendentives] of 55 feet diameter. The summit of the cupola which is flattened . . . is 80 feet high, and is terminated by a star of light through the glass that crowns the summit. . . The pulpit stands upon a double pedestal, the lowest of which is of a fine green variegated marble, from Connecticut, like the verd antique of the ancient buildings; and the upper pedestal is of fine white marble. The pulpit itself is of the wood called bird's-eye maple. The organ in this church is very singular in shape, but appropriate and beautiful. It has the external form of the ancient lyre, the perpendicular pipes representing the strings—The

instrument being about 23 feet high, and 17 feet wide, and containing 1,400 pipes and 22 stops. It was designed and built under the superintendence of Maximilian Godefroy, and opened in 1818.

Buckingham, J. S. *America, Historical, Statistical, and descriptive*. London [1841]. V. 1, p. 412-413.

In the process of remodelling, the dome and pendants were concealed by a barrel-vaulted ceiling that was built under them; the gallery at the front of the church was extended into the body of the edifice; it is supported by columns which made necessary the removal of about four rows of pews. The lyre organ has been replaced by a modern instrument; the original pulpit, now painted white, is still in use, but it is not in its original location and it no longer rests upon the double marble pedestal.

An engraving of the interior, drawn by W. Goodacre, Jr., New York, was published in London, September, 1831; that view corresponds very closely to Buckingham's description.

The Government Bank.

This no doubt refers to the branch of the U. S. bank which was established in Baltimore in 1816. The old Baltimore Exchange was commenced in 1815 after the designs of Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Godefroy drew the plans for the northern wing of the East front of the Exchange which was designed to house the Baltimore branch of the U. S. bank. He became so outraged by the changes that were made in his designs, without his knowledge and approval, that he severed his connection with the Building Committee. The Maryland Historical Society has in its manuscript collection a letter from Godefroy to the President and officers of the bank, dated Baltimore, August 13, 1816, in which he expresses his indignation at the treatment he has received at their hands, and those of the Building Committee. It was at this time that the rupture occurred in the hitherto close and cordial friendship between Latrobe and Godefroy. The latter gives his version of the

circumstances that led up to that unhappy break in a letter written to Mr. Ebenezer Jackson of Middletown, Connecticut. That letter has the heading Richmond, 7. Sept^{bre}, 1816; eventually it will be published in full in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. One must await the publication of Latrobe's correspondence to learn his side of the controversy.

The Exchange building extended 255 feet from Second to Water Street with its principal front and entrance on Gay Street. No vestige of it remains. One must turn to old prints and to descriptions of early Baltimore to form an idea of its appearance, and the important place it occupied in the life of the community.

The Commercial and Farmers' Bank.

This building is still standing on its original site at the southwest corner of Howard and German (now Redwood) Streets. It is no longer used for banking purposes, and has undergone such extensive interior and exterior alterations, since its construction about 1810/11, that it bears little resemblance to the original edifice which was a one-storied building. There is an excellent illustration of the exterior of the original structure in Lucas's *Picture of Baltimore* [1832], facing page 110.

Godefroy's activities during the time he lived in Baltimore from December, 1805, until August, 1819, were not confined to the construction of the buildings which he enumerates, as one learns from an advertisement which appeared in the *Federal gazette and Baltimore daily advertiser*, September 27th, 1815 (p. 2, col. 4), and in several subsequent issues of that paper.

Drawing, painting, architecture and fortification. Mr. Max. Godefroy will recommence his usual course of lessons in the different branches of the arts on Monday the 2d. of October, his hours are every evening except Saturday.

Mr. G. will undertake every species of construction, private and public; he refers those who may wish for specimens of his practical knowledge to St. Mary's Chapel, the Commercial and Farmers' Bank, the two powder magazines in the outworks of Fort McHenry, the vaults and gates of the First Presbyterian

Church yard and Mr. Henry Didier's House in Court House Square now altering under his direction. All of which were constructed under his plans, and under his immediate and sole superintendence.

No address is given in this advertisement, but from the local directories one finds he was living at the corner of Hanover and German Streets.

In connection with the powder magazines at Fort McHenry another quotation from Latrobe's unpublished letters will be of interest. He writes to Godefroy,

Pittsburg, Dec. 12, 1814.

. . . By a letter from Mr. Harper [Robert Goodloe Harper] I learn that you are at last consulted on the fortifications at Baltimore. I congratulate America on this event, both because justice is done to your talents, and because your talents are employed in our defence.

The "vaults and gates of the First Presbyterian churchyard" are standing as and where they were in Godefroy's day, except for a slight change in the location of some of the vaults; but we of the present must look for them in what is now called Westminster churchyard. The small gate in Fayette Street and the double carriage-gate in Greene Street are of wrought iron. The "vaults" have not been identified, but one inclines to the belief that Godefroy may have been commissioned to design the tomb of his wife's uncle, Mr. John O'Donnell, and the stone erected by the Freemasons in 1815 to Dr. John Crawford, Godefroy's father-in-law.

It may not be amiss to explain the change in name of the churchyard. The second church building of the First Presbyterian congregation of Baltimore was situated on the North side of Fayette Street approximately at Guilford Avenue. It was surrounded by the church's graveyard. When it became necessary to build a much larger church provision had to be made for the transfer of the bodies and tombs to another location. In 1785 property was purchased in the "far western outskirts of the city," and the transfer was accomplished by 1791.

Westminster Church, an independent organization, was built 1851/52, in the midst of the graves, and the name First Presbyterian churchyard was replaced gradually by Westminster churchyard, although the graves and the yard remain the property of the First Church.

Before concluding the notes on Godefroy's work in Baltimore, one would like to speak of his connection with our Washington monument, and also to offer a piece of evidence that he designed a piece of church furniture, which is still owned by the congregation for which it was made but with which Godefroy's name is not at present associated.

St. Paul's Church.

Near the altar within the chancel rail of St. Paul's Church there stands a lovely marble baptismal font, now used as a receptacle for flowers on special occasions. Its history is unknown to the rector and the congregation beyond the fact that it was the sole piece of church furnishing to survive the fire which in 1854 destroyed the St. Paul's church building which preceded the present one.

There has come to my notice, through the kindness of Mr. Rusk, the copy of a letter the original of which is in the Dreer collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; it is from Godefroy, dated Baltimore, August 22, 1819, to the artist, Thomas Sully. It is a letter of farewell written a few days before the Godefroy family embarked upon their ill-fated voyage to England. But our interest centers in a note on the letter, presumably in the handwriting of Robert Gilmore of Baltimore. It reads in part: "Note on Godefroy, the artist and architect of St. Mary's Chapel. . . He also designed the Battle Monument and the marble [word obliterated] for baptism in St. Paul's Church. Given to me by Mr. Sully in [18?]-30."

Washington Monument.

When Godefroy speaks of having "furnished great plans . . . for various monuments to General Washington," he fails to add

where it was proposed to erect them. We know, however, that one of the places was Baltimore. From Washington under the date April 1, 1810, Latrobe writes to Godefroy, "I am very happy that you have been applied to on the subject of General Washington's monument. I have not received any letter from the managers of that concern. . . I will never enter into a competition which your superiority of talent, as well as my most sincere affection for your person render impossible."

Before quoting from another letter to Godefroy from Latrobe, one would like to introduce two pertinent extracts from a volume of bound manuscript in the Maryland Historical Society library entitled, *Papers relative to Washington Monument*.

At a special meeting of the managers General Washington monument held at the Council chamber on Thursday the 5th May, 1814, present [Here follows a list of 15 names].

A committee of the managers General Washington monument Lottery having written Mr. Godefroy a letter on the subject of a monument that induced him to incur expense, Therefore resolved that the President, pro. tem., present him with the sum of 250\$ in the name of the managers with a copy of this resolution. [Signed] Eli Simkins.

Meeting of the Directors of Washington monument held . . . 15th June, 1814 . . . The Secy. laid before the board a sealed communication from Ms. M. Godefroy addressed to the managers, dated 9th May, 1814, in which he declined to receive the 250\$ which had been voted him on the 5th May.

At this meeting it was "Resolved unanimously that Mr. Robt. Mills be appointed architect to carry into execution the plan of the monument agreed to be erected by this board."

The expense incurred by Godefroy was no doubt in connection with the preparation of the design in water-colors which he submitted in the competition. The original belongs to the City Hall collection of Baltimore prints now permanently located in the Baltimore Municipal Museum. The design shows a triumphal arch beneath which is an equestrian statue of General Washington.

The following quotation from Latrobe's unpublished letters

gives not only his appraisal of the architect who won the award in the Washington monument competition, but it indicates also that the close and cordial relations between Latrobe and Godefroy were still unspoiled.

Latrobe writes to Godefroy from Pittsburg, October 10, 1814:

... Mills is a wretched designer. He came to me too late to acquire principals of taste. He is a copyist, and is fit for nothing else. His Christian monument is an imitation of a design proposed for Lord Nelson. It is anything but a fit mausoleum for Washington. But he also has his merit. He is an excellent man of detail, and a very snug contriver of domestic conveniences and will make a good deal of money. He wants that professional self-respect which is the ruin of you and me, and therefore we shall go to the wall, while he will strut in the middle of the street.

RICHMOND.

Light upon Godefroy's work in Richmond seems difficult to obtain. The Virginia State Library was approached but no satisfactory information was supplied.

One must depend therefore upon two letters,* both copies, in the Maryland Historical Society to learn when Godefroy was in Richmond.

One gathers that he was at work there during the summer and early autumn of 1816 for a period of about two and a half months. One will attempt no quotations from either letter but will endeavor to give a brief summary of the pertinent passages in both.

Godefroy writes Mr. Jackson in some detail about the outrageous treatment he feels he had received at the hands of

* The original of the first letter is in the Jackson family papers. It is from Godefroy to Mr. Ebenezer Jackson and is dated Richmond, 7. Sept., 1816; eventually it will be published in full in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

The second letter, also written from Richmond by Godefroy, is addressed to Louis Hue Girardin, it bears the date 19 Sept., 1816. The original is in the Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; the copy in the Md. Hist. Society was obtained from Mr. Wm. S. Rusk. Cf. also *Maryland Historical Magazine*, V. 26, pp. 404-407.

Latrobe and others in connection with the construction of the Baltimore Exchange. After that humiliating experience Godefroy sought rest and recuperation in the country. While he was there he was asked by the Governor of Virginia to come to Richmond to furnish designs for the exterior and interior renovation of the Capitol and to lay out a Public Square around that building. Godefroy thought fifteen days would suffice for the required work, but upon his arrival in Richmond he found a piece of ground 14 to 15 acres in extent, rent by ravines from 50 to 60 feet in depth—such was the land he was to transform into beautiful gardens!

In the following passage one may read what he accomplished:

The grounds of the Capitol Square were originally laid out by Mons. Godefroi, a French gentleman of skill and taste, according to the formal style. . . He certainly reduced chaos to order, and made the grounds very handsome, and wonderfully uniform, considering their original irregularity. . . The west side has been modernized according to an irregular plan, adapted to it by Mr. Notman, of Philadelphia. Some dozen flights of stone steps are dispensed with; the straight lines of trees are being gradually thrown into disorder. But the east side, like a prim old maid, retains its formality for the present, and serves to show the contrast between the formal and the picturesque styles.

Mordecai. *Richmond in By-gone days*. Richmond, 1856, pp. 61-62.

In the 2d ed., Richmond, 1860, there is on p. 76 this footnote:

"The east side has also been changed and beautified."

Among the other tasks Godefroy was asked to undertake, after his arrival in Richmond, was "la pénible tâche" of transforming into a well-proportioned building a Court House of which the foundations had already been laid. In his letter to Girardin, of September 19th, written four hours before his departure from Richmond, Godefroy says he has just that day finished the Court House and he expresses grave fears that his plans will be mutilated as soon as his back is turned, although he has had them framed as a measure of protection.

He adds that the fronts on Capitol Street and H Street should be alike in the antique Doric-Roman style, and those on 11th Street and the yard should be alike in the Tuscan style. His description establishes the exact location of the old Court House about which so little seems to be known.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE.

One has met with no success in the attempt to gather information about the Catholic Charity Schools in London, and the vicarage near Worcester. It has been learned, however, that evidences of Godefroy's work at Laval, France, may still be seen. In a letter dated April 12, 1933, the Mayor of Laval wrote to Dr. Gilbert Chinard that the extensive and important construction at the Préfecture, which was carried out after Godefroy's designs and under his direction, still remains almost in its entirety.

APPENDIX.

Beyond Godefroy's own meagre statement one knows nothing of his career prior to the French Revolution and little enough since that event. The letter already quoted from *Blackwood's Magazine* gives a few additional details of the circumstances that led up to his imprisonment in Bellegarde, and of his escape. But it does not mention the fact that the Duchess of Orleans (mother of Louis Phillipe) made arrangements with Lord Nelson, then in command of a squadron in the port of Barcelona, to receive Godefroy on board. When Napoleon heard of Godefroy's voluntary return to France and his surrender he remarked, "C'est un beau trait de cet officier," and directed that he should be invited to enter the imperial service. Godefroy declined the offer; then followed his detention in the Chateau d'If, and later the order for his deportation to America. (Letter from Mr. Ebenezer Jackson to the Hon. Cassius W. Clay, when the latter was minister to Russia.)

Our interest in Godefroy's imprisonment in the Chateau d'If lies primarily in the picture, representing the Battle of Pultowa, which he composed and partly executed during his detention

there. Mr. Ebenezer Jackson is one's authority for the statement (Letter to the Hon. C. W. Clay) that Godefroy's only implements were the stump of a pen, backs of letters and bits of other paper, and a solution made from the soot of his stove-pipe. One hundred and twenty fragments were used. These Godefroy pieced together during his voyage across the Atlantic, April, 1805, on the brig "*la Rose*." After his arrival in Philadelphia he added the coloring in sepia and India ink.

The picture is rather more than three by two feet in size. It is of interest to note that it was exhibited at one time for "some months at the Baltimore Library, to the admiration of every connoisseur and man of taste." (*The Observer*, vol. 2, p. 303. November 7, 1807)

The original was purchased in 1837 from Godefroy himself by Mr. Ebenezer Jackson; since that time it has remained in the possession of the Jackson family in Middletown, Connecticut. Through the generosity of Miss Mary Selina Jackson, and the cooperation of the Frick Art Reference Library, a photograph of the original has been obtained for the Maryland Historical Society.

MARYLAND'S ROYAL FAMILY.

By ELIZABETH RIGBY.

The story of Virginia's Indian princess, Pocahontas, coupled with the names of Chief Powhatan, her father, and of John Rolfe, her English husband, has long been an international classic. This is chiefly because of one dramatic incident, romantically retailed by that tall-tale historian, John Smith, an incident which, in actuality, probably never occurred. Yet, because she has lacked such an historian, few have heard of Maryland's princess, whose birth coincided with the founding of the province, and whose life and family were closely intertwined with its earliest history. Few know that there are those living today whose proud right it is to wear Indian feathers in

their hair, as a mark of descent from the daughter of the chieftain, Kittamaqund (or Chitomachen).¹ Now, in Maryland's Tercentenary year, it may not be amiss to remember Mary Kittamaqund Brent, and her father, Emperor of the friendly Piscataway tribe.

Kittamaqund's daughter was born in 1633 or 1634.² We do not know what name she received, for at the time no one suspected that her advent would be of more than tribal interest. In that year her uncle, Uwanno, was Emperor of the Piscataways, and many tribal chieftains bowed to his supreme authority. He feared no one but the warlike Susquehannocks from the north, who from time to time made sallies into his territory, and even them he had successfully resisted. Tales of strange white invaders may have come to him from the south, but he had seen few of these people himself, altho one Captain Henry Fleet, explorer and trader, had lived with the tribe for several years, on the friendliest of terms.

On March 3, 1634, however, two small English ships, the Ark and the Dove, sailed up the Chesapeake into the Potomac. On board were those who were to become the first Marylanders, and they were looking for a suitable place to land and settle. Leonard Calvert, their leader, soon learned that Uwanno's friendship would be of utmost importance to the colonists. Taking the smaller of the two vessels, therefore, he sailed up the river as far as Piscataway Creek, opposite the site of modern Mt. Vernon. There lay the tribe's chief town, and there a conference was held aboard the Dove, with Captain Fleet acting as interpreter. While Calvert made clear his desire to settle peaceably somewhere in the Emperor's territory, Uwanno listened quietly, then answered, in true diplomatic fashion, "I

¹I am indebted for this statement to Mr. Edward Carroll Parker, of Michigan. Mr. Parker is a Brent descendant who has done much research into Brent genealogy.

²Hall, Clayton Colman, *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 1910, p. 132,—"Annual Letters of the Jesuits"—Letter, 1640: "On the 15th of February [1640/1] we came to Pascatoa. . . . Not long after, the King brought his daughter, seven years old. . . ."

will not bid you go. Neither will I bid you stay. You may use your own discretion.”³ To Calvert’s discretion this hardly seemed a hearty welcome. Besides, the town of Piscataway was rather too far up the river. A settlement further down, nearer the outskirts of the territory, might be wiser. So thanking the Tayac, as the natives called their chief, and taking Captain Fleet with him, Calvert turned back towards the mouth of the river, landing finally among a subject tribe, the Yocomicos, from whom he purchased the land on which to found St. Mary’s City.

Among the new settlers was one, Father Andrew White, the Jesuit priest, who was to influence greatly the life of Kittamaqund, Uwanno’s brother, and that of Kittamaqund’s infant daughter. Could the child but have glimpsed the future, she would have been incredulous to discover what fate held in store for her. Seeing into the future was not unheard of among these people. Emperor Uwanno, himself, had had a dream of two white priests who appeared before him. In the dream, he had heard a voice saying, “These are the men who, from their soul, love you and all your tribe, and bring with them those blessings by which you can be happy, if you desire it.” When he first saw Father White and his co-worker, Father Gravener, Uwanno was amazed to recognize in them the two priests of his dream. Indeed, he was so impressed by the matter, that he wished to entrust his beloved young son to the care of the Fathers, so that the boy might be educated in the way of the promised blessings.⁴

Poor Uwanno. It was not his son, but his niece who was destined so to be entrusted. Among the Piscataways, descent of rule was collateral rather than lineal. Kittamaqund, as

³ Bozman, John Leeds, *History of Maryland*, 1837, Vol. II, p. 28.

⁴ Hall, *ibid.*, “Annual Letter of 1639,” p. 126. The text is somewhat confusing in regard to the two dreams, but it seems certain that the first dream was Uwanno’s and the second Kittamaqund’s, since on page 126, in reference to the first dream, we find the statement, “he wished to give up for seven years his son,” while on page 127, definitely in reference to the second dream and to Kittamaqund, it is stated, “for he has as yet no male issue.”

brother of the Tayac, would one day be Emperor, should he outlive Uwanno. But Kittamaqund was restless and ambitious, too ambitious to trust to nature's dubious course, too restless to wait. He, who was later to appear in an extraordinarily kindly light, now took life and death into his own hands. Ruthlessly he murdered his elder brother, so that he himself might become Emperor. Thus his young daughter became a princess, and his wives, queens, according to the rather romantic Englishing of the Indian terms.

All this time, the gentle priest, Andrew White, had, with more or less success, been spreading his doctrine among the various tribes. Ironically enough, one of his most signal successes was with the fratricide, Kittamaqund, and his tribesmen. The princess was six years old, when the priest came to live among her father's people. Kittamaqund was kindly disposed to him from the first, but in the matter of changing his gods, the Tayac was cautious. A wise man steps carefully where the powers of good and evil are concerned. True, there was the matter of Uwanno's dream. Yet who knew how to interpret that correctly? Perhaps the Indian gods of stones and herbs, and Okce, great god of evil, had been angry with the old emperor for inclining toward the white priest, and had, in revenge, caused his downfall.

Yet Kittamaqund, too, was to have a dream. Father White came to Piscataway in June, 1639, and one morning not long afterwards, the Tayac awoke with a marvelous tale to relate. There had appeared to him, in the middle of the night, his own father, who had long been dead. With him was a god of strange, dim color. This god had been the chief's own, and now beseeched him not to forsake him for the God of the white men. In the same dream, however, Governor Calvert and Father White also appeared, and they, too, were accompanied by a god. This god, in marked contrast to the first one, was marvelously beautiful, and whiter than new-fallen snow. He beckoned very gently to the Emperor to approach. The Tayac marvelled much at this dream, and thereafter looked upon Father White with a

new interest. He insisted that the priest live with him in the bark "palace," and sleep on one of the royal mats. In his new home, the white man inspired the love and devotion of the rest of the family as well. Even the chief's favorite wife would allow no one to serve Father White but herself, and with her own hands she prepared his meals at the central fire.

And then occurred the final miracle which convinced Kittamaqund that the priest was right, and that the white man's God was far more powerful than any his own people had ever worshipped. The great Tayac fell ill of a dread disease for which there appeared to be no help. Forty medicine men there were among his tribes, and one after the other tried to cure the suffering ruler. At last, Father White asked permission to attempt his skill. The medicine men were jealous and skeptical, but the queen eagerly acquiesced. All pioneer priests had to be doctors of the body as well as of the soul, and Father White was wise in the ways of medicine. Now he mixed a certain powder with holy water and gave it to the Tayac to drink. Next he had recourse to the ubiquitous remedy of those days, blood-letting. Under his treatment it was not long before, marvelous to relate, the Tayac was quite restored to health.

Now was Kittamaqund completely convinced. Now was he ready, even hasty, to become a Christian. Since conversion, as well as trade expansion and extension of temporal kingdoms, was one of the avowed motives for the white man's settlement of the New World, this was indeed a victory for the priest. By converting an emperor, might he not expect to convert an entire nation at once? This, at least, was the Father's pious hope, one which was, to a large degree, justified by subsequent events.

A most satisfactory convert was the Emperor of the Piscataways, for he did nothing by halves. Having decided to renounce the gods of his own people for the great God of the white men, he showed his enthusiasm by embracing other customs of the newcomers, as well. He discarded his royal garb of skins, and sent to St. Mary's for a suit of latest English style. He put aside all his wives but one, for this, Father White instructed

him, would be required by the God of the Christians. Meticulously he studied his catechism and the principles of the new religion, so that he soon astonished the whites by his spiritual understanding, and was even able to help in the conversion of his tribesmen. Above all, he learned English, which, if English was as difficult for him to master as the Indian languages were for the whites, was no mean feat for a busy man.

A year after Father White's coming, on July 5, 1640, Kittamaqund, his wife, and an infant daughter were baptized in the Christian faith, and remarried according to the tenets of their new religion. The ceremony was carried out with all the pomp fitting the rank of the converts. The Tayac had had a bark chapel specially built for the occasion. Members of the tribe watched the proceedings with awe. Governor Calvert and the great men of the English colony were present, and at the conclusion of the rites, they helped the Emperor, now renamed, in Christian fashion, Charles,⁵ to carry to its proper place a great cross, which was to stand as a constant reminder of redemption. Probably the little princess, watching all this wonderingly, caught a glimpse of the man who was one day to become her husband, and lead her to a new home across the Potomac.

It was late in the following winter⁶ that her father brought her to St. Mary's, one hundred and twenty miles from her forest home. The Tayac wished his daughter to be educated in the ways of the white settlers, so that she might be the better fitted to fulfill a mission, the hope of which he cherished secretly. Kittamaqund had no son, and he loved his daughter dearly. Even the white men commented upon his affection for her. It may have been partly this love, partly the extension of a personal ambition, which led him to hope that he could, contrary to the ancient tribal custom of male, collateral descent,

⁵ The queen was baptized Mary, the infant daughter, Ann. The older daughter evidently took no part in this ceremony, since there were other plans for her future. The King's principal councillor, Mosorcoques, baptized at the same time, was renamed John, and Mosorcoques's infant son was called Robert. Campbell, B. U., "Early Christian Missions in Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, pp. 302-3.

⁶ Hall, *ibid.*, "Annual Letter of 1640," p. 132.

make her his successor as ruler of the tribe. He must have counted heavily upon his own influence with his people, and upon the girl's special charm, yet evidently he had some doubt as to the success of his plan, or perhaps he felt, already, the hand of death upon his shoulder, for at St. Mary's he made special provision for his daughter's future care. The Indian girl was there formally and legally adopted by Leonard Calvert, governor of the colony, and by Margaret Brent, one of its ablest and wealthiest citizens, in a joint guardianship.

Mistress Brent watched well over her young ward, from a practical as well as a spiritual point of view. When Calvert, probably through press of more immediate matters, forgot to contribute his share of the girl's maintenance, Mistress Margaret sued him in open court for seven thousand pounds of tobacco, or its equivalent in kind, which was his amount of the contract, and eventually recovered.⁷ The girl proved an apt pupil. She learned English quickly, and by the winter of 1642 had satisfied the priests of her religious knowledge. She was then baptized, as her father and mother had been two years before. For her Christian name she took that of Mary Brent.

The main purpose of her visit had now been accomplished, but Mary remained on at St. Mary's City. Perhaps it was because of the sadly upset state of affairs at Piscataway. The Susquehannocks were causing more trouble, and the upper reaches of the Tayac's territory were threatened. Perhaps her father's death, which had occurred sometime before May 3, 1641,⁸ and the claims made on her behalf since then, had made her *persona non grata* at home. But another reason may have detained her, too. Giles Brent, brother of her guardian, was a frequent visitor at his sister's house, and it must have been increasingly evident that he shared Mistress Margaret's interest in the Indian girl. He was nearly thirty years her senior, but he was a man of fire and courage and ability. While Calvert was on a trip to England, Brent served as governor in his stead,

⁷ *Maryland Archives*, Vol. IV, pp. 259, 263, 264.

⁸ Campbell, *ibid.*, p. 304.

and it was during this time,⁹ when Mary Brent Kittamaqund was but eleven or twelve years of age, that the marriage of this strange pair was solemnized.¹⁰

Giles was a man of overweening ambition, and Mary had been appointed by her father as sole heiress to his land and power. If Brent had this in mind, however, when he married her,¹¹ he was doomed to disappointment. After the death of Kittamaqund, the Piscataways had disregarded his last command, and had repudiated his daughter. In her stead they had elected Weghucasso, a lateral descendant, who then appointed as actual ruler a brave named Uttapoingassinem after the founder of the royal line.¹² When Giles, himself, on his young wife's behalf, laid claim to her father's domain, he, too, was rebuffed.¹³ Yet there can be little doubt that, disappointing though she may have proved as a territorial venture, Mary Kittamaqund made her husband happy in other ways. In regard to the girl's age at the time of her marriage, both her race, and the period in which she lived, must be remembered. In those days, extremely youthful and disparate unions were not uncommon, even in England.¹⁴ Mary was apparently intelligent and lovable, hardy, and wise in the ways of the land, and she

⁹ Sometime between May 8, 1644 and January, 1644/5:

1. *Archives*, Vol. IV, pp. 270-1, Prov. Ct. 1637-1650 — "May 8, 1644, Sold unto Mrs. Mary Kitomaqund, foure kine, three yearling heifers, one yearling bullock, two bull calves, and 2 cow calves of his Lops. stock. . . ."

2. *Archives*, Vol. III, p. 162, Pro. Cl. 1636-1667 — "January, 1644/5, the Petition of Giles Brent, Esq. and of Mary his wife . . ."

¹⁰ "Conference Between Penn and Talbot at New Castle in 1684," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. III, p. 30. Talbot: ". . . Capt. Brent who in right of his wife the Piscatoway Emperor's daughter and only child pretended a right to the most part of Maryland but could doe noe good on't after a great bustle about it. . . ."

¹¹ He probably thought that he could make Mary's claim good, once he was her husband as well as a power in the white man's province.

¹² Hughes, Thomas Aloysius, *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Vol. I, p. 553, who gives as his sources: *Archives*, Pro. Cl. 1636-1667, pp. 402, 403, 453, 454.

¹³ See note 10 above.

¹⁴ Anne Arundell was apparently not more than fourteen years old when she was married to Cecil Calvert.

had lived among the English, in the Brent household, during the most formative years of her childhood.

Governor Calvert died in 1647, and for a time the colony was torn by internal dissension. Indeed it had been so torn for some years past. Those were hot-headed days and it was not always easy to find the right and the wrong of an argument. Lord Baltimore was in England, far from the scenes of action, and naturally he did not always see events as the colonists saw them. News came to him infrequently, as we think of news today, and not always impartially. Whether rightly or wrongly, then, Giles had several times suffered the shame of public rebuke for his actions, and even, upon one occasion, trial for sedition. Although he was each time exonerated, he grew impatient of restriction. Determined to be his own man, he decided at last to move further into the wilderness. Across the Potomac, on land which is now Virginian, but which was then so unexplored and so unsettled that even its ownership was in doubt, he established a new home for himself and his wife.

"Peace," he named the estate ironically, or hopefully, we cannot tell which. Here he began the amassing of enormous land holdings. And here his wife bore six children, of whom four lived. The eldest, a daughter Mary, later married the Englishman, John Fitzherbert. She has sometimes been confused in history with her mother,¹⁵ but she is mentioned in her

¹⁵ Browne, William Hand, *George Calvert and Cecilius Calvert, Barons Baltimore of Baltimore*, 1890, p. 126, note in reference to Mary Brent Kittamaquund: "She afterward married one Fitzherbert, who failing in his expectations of a 'great portion,' we are informed, 'civilly parted with her.'"

It is unfortunate that Mr. Browne did not give the source of his information, which quite possibly might have thrown further light on the subject. In view of more recently published information, it seems reasonable to suppose that whoever originally made the statement quoted above confused, naturally enough, the various Mary Brents involved; it is quite possible that three Marys are here combined into one, *i. e.*, Mary Kittamaquund, of whose portion her husband, Giles, was disappointed, Mary, the daughter of Mary and Giles, who did marry a John Fitzherbert, and Mary, daughter-in-law of Mary and Giles, who married Giles, Jr., and parted from him, though not exactly civilly. At any rate, the understandable

father's will as Mary Fitzherbert,¹⁶ and as the recipient of five ewes and a ram. The others were named Giles, Richard, Katherine, Henry and Margaret. Henry and Margaret died young. Katherine married Richard Marsham, who later became the third husband of Leonard Calvert's daughter, Anne.

Giles, eldest son of Giles and Mary Kittamaqund Brent, was born in 1652.¹⁷ He married still another Mary Brent, one of his numerous English cousins, daughter of his father's brother, George Brent of Defford, and sister of George and Robert Brent of Woodstock, Virginia. Young Giles was a hot-tempered lad, and his disposition was not of the happiest, domestically speaking. To him belongs the doubtful honor of having been the first person to be divorced in Virginia.¹⁸ From his mother he learned much about Indian languages and customs, and from her, too, he learned an undying hatred of the marauding tribes from the north, his grandfather's ancient enemies, whose strength and audacity had increased with the years. Upon at least one occasion, he led a joint expedition against them over the Virginia border into Maryland.¹⁹ Surrounding a group of them in a hut, he spoke to them in their own language, but failing to come to a satisfactory conclusion, set upon them with stern ruthlessness. When he and his men had killed all but an eight-year old boy, son of a minor chief, and a few braves who

error of this eminent historian, due to lack of material at the time, has been perpetuated by another writer on Maryland history, namely Hester Dorsey Richardson, in whose *Sidelights on Maryland History*, Vol. II, pp. 21-27, the same version of the Indian girl's story is told, with Browne's note given as the authority for this particular aspect of it.

¹⁶ Chilton, W. B., "The Brents of Maryland and Virginia," in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 16, pp. 96-99.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁸ See note 21 below.

¹⁹ The Captain Brent of this incident has sometimes been identified as George Brent of Virginia; but both Fairfax Harrison, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, p. 75, note 25, and W. B. Chilton, "The Brents of Maryland and Virginia," *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. 16, p. 99, believe it to have been Giles, Jr. Harrison's reasons, namely that the Brent of this story was probably the half-breed because of his knowledge of the Indian language, his peculiar mixture of superstition and piety, and his great ruthlessness, seem particularly cogent.

managed to escape, young Giles took the child prisoner and retired.

There followed an episode which is interesting for its illustration of the strange racial mixture of character in this young man. The captive child appeared to be very sick, and though he received the best of care, could not be made to talk or open his eyes or take food for many days. At length the whites despaired of the small prisoner's life. Giles, however, decided that the boy must have been *pawer-pawed*, that is, bewitched. Baptism, he had heard, was the only effective remedy for this trouble, and so after lengthy endeavors, for it was not easy to obtain a priest at a moment's notice, someone was found who could perform the rite. Soon afterward, the child opened his eyes, and appeared to come out of his rigid trance. No longer did he refuse food and drink, but was saved by the pious thought of the very man who had so brutally seized his chieftain-father by the scalp lock, shooting him down in cold blood.²⁰

Such sudden changes of character were too much, however, for Giles's gently bred English wife. He was a "terrible fellow," she said, who treated her "inhumanly," and was impossible to live with. She sued him in court, and obtained an injunction to live apart from him. He was to support her, however, according to his means, until the next court, when he was to appear for a final hearing of the case. The decision was the first of its kind in the colony and established a precedent for future problems of a similar nature.²¹ It was handed down on May 8, 1679, but before the holding of the next court young Giles was dead. He died on September 2, 1679, at the early age of twenty-seven. He happened to be visiting in Middlesex county, Virginia, at the time, and the record of his passing is

²⁰ "Bacon's Rebellion," by T. M., 1705, reprinted in Force, Peter, *Historical Tracts*, Vol. I, No. 8.

²¹ a. Letter of William Fitzhugh (1650-1701), original at Haward, Va., reprinted in *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. I, p. 40.

b. "Notes from the [Va.] Council and General Court Records, 1641-1682," by the late Conway Robinson, Esq., reprinted in *Va. Mag. Hist. and Biog.*, Vol. IX, p. 187.

preserved there, in the Parish Register of Christ Church, where he was buried.²² Of his children, one son and two daughters lived to perpetuate the line which, even now, though scattered far from Maryland and Virginia,²³ is still proud of its regal right to wear the Indian feathers in memory of Mary Kittamaquond, Empress of the Piscataways.

EARLY MARYLAND NEWSPAPERS.

A LIST OF TITLES

Compiled by

GEORGE C. KEIDEL, PH. D.

Entries prefixed with an * are in Maryland Historical Society's Collection.

(Continued from Vol. XXIX, p. 143.)

1851

[Annapolis] Maryland Free Press.

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

[Annapolis?] Maryland Law Reporter.

[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and
State Capital Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland State Capital Gazette.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

* Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

[Baltimore] Daily Morning News.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

²² Harrison, Fairfax, *Landmarks of Old Prince William*, 1924, p. 22.

²³ The Maryland and Virginia Brents of today are not descendants of Giles Brent, but of his cousin, George Brent, of Woodstock and Brenton, Virginia.

- [Baltimore] Flag of Liberty.
- [Baltimore] Flag of Our Union.
- Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- Baltimore Herold (?).
- [Baltimore] Jacksonian and General Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- [Baltimore] Monumental Fountain.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- Baltimore Pathfinder.
- * Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce.
- * [Baltimore] Republican and Argus.
- [Baltimore] Spirit of the Times.
- * [Baltimore] Star Banner.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Sunday Morning Dispatch
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- * [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- Baltimore Wochenblatt.
- [Baltimore] Wreath and Literary Shamrock.
- [Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
- [Boonsboro'] Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- Cambridge Democrat and News.
- Centreville Advertiser.
- Centreville Herald.
- Centreville Times.
- Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
- Charlestown News.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservater.
- * [Chester Town] Kent News.

- [Chester Town] Weekly Herald.
Clearspring Sentinel.
Clearspring Whig.
[Cockeysville] Baltimore County Advocate.
Cumberland Alleganian.
Cumberland Citizen.
Cumberland Civilian.
Cumberland Miners' Journal.
Cumberland Unionist.
Denton Journal.
Easton Gazette.
* Easton Star.
[Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard District Advocate.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard District Free Press.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard District Gazette.
[Ellicott's Mills] Times.
Frederick Herald.
[Frederick] Political Examiner.
* [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
[Frederick] Times.
[Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom.
Hagerstown Mail.
[Hagerstown] News.
[Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
[Hagerstown] People's Own.
Hagers-Town Torchlight and Public Advertiser.
[Hagerstown] Reformer.
[Hagerstown] Republican.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace
Advertiser.
[Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.
[Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
[Middletown] Catoctin Whig.
Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.

- [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
 Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advertiser.
 [Snow Hill] Worcester County Shield, Spirit of the
 Whig Press.
 [Towsontown] Baltimore County Jacksonian.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.
 [Westminster] American Sentinel.
 [Westminster] Carrolltonian.
 Westminster Democrat and Carroll Co. Republican.
 [Williamsport] Banner. (?)
 [Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.
 [Williamsport] Potomac Sentinel.

1852

- [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital
 Advertiser.
 * [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.
 * [Baltimore] American Farmer.
 [Baltimore] American Whig Review.
 * [Baltimore] Campaigner.
 [Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.
 [Baltimore] Church Times. (?)
 Baltimore Clipper.
 [Baltimore] Constitution.
 [Baltimore] Daily Morning News.
 * [Baltimore] Daily Times.
 [Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.
 [Baltimore] Evening Patriot.
 [Baltimore] Evening Picayune and Baltimore Daily
 Advertiser.
 [Baltimore] Evening Porcupine.
 [Baltimore] Flag of Our Union.
 Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
 [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.

- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- [Baltimore] Neue Vaterland.
- [Baltimore] Old Defender.
- * Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce.
- * [Baltimore] Republican and Daily Argus.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Times.
- [Baltimore] Vaterland.
- Baltimore Wecker.
- * [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- [Baltimore] Weekly Clipper.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- [Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Centreville Times.
- Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
- Charlestown News.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- [Cockeysville] Baltimore County Advocate.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
- Cumberland Citizen.
- Cumberland Civilian.
- Cumberland Miners' Journal.
- Cumberland Unionist.
- Denton Journal.
- Easton Gazette.
- * Easton Star.
- [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
- * [Elkton] Cecil Whig.

- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard District Free Press.
 [Ellicott's Mills] Howard District Gazette. (?)
 [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
 Frederick Herald.
 [Frederick] Political Examiner.
 * [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
 [Frederick] Times.
 Hagerstown Herald of Freedom.
 [Hagerstown] Mail.
 [Hagerstown] News.
 [Hagerstown] People's Own.
 Hagers-Town Torchlight and Public Advertiser.
 [Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace
 Advertiser.
 * [Hereford] Jacksonian and General Advertiser.
 [Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.
 [Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
 [Middletown] Catoctin Whig.
 Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Whig.
 Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.
 [Smithsburg] Trumpet.
 [Snow Hill] Worcester County Shield, Spirit of the
 Whig Press.
 [Towsontown] Baltimore County Union.
 [Towsontown] Jacksonian and General Advertiser.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.
 [Westminster] American Sentinel.
 * Westminster Carrolltonian.
 Westminster Democrat and Carroll Co. Republican.
 [Williamsport] Banner.
 [Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.
 [Williamsport] Potomac Sentinel. (?)

1853

[Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.

[Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital
Advertiser.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] American Daily Times.

* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

* [Baltimore] American Times.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

[Baltimore] Daily American Times.

* [Baltimore] Daily Argus.

[Baltimore] Daily Globe.

[Baltimore] Daily Press.

[Baltimore] Daily Republic.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

[Baltimore] Flag of Our Union.

Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Industrial School Advocate. (?)

[Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.

[Baltimore] Literary Bulletin.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.

[Baltimore] Monumental Literary Gazette.

[Baltimore] Novellen-Zeitung.

Baltimore Price-Current, Weekly Journal of Commerce.

[Baltimore] Monumental Literary Gazette.

[Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.

Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.

* Baltimore Price-Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce.

* [Baltimore] Republican and Argus.

[Baltimore] Sunday Morning Atlas.

* [Baltimore] Sun.

[Baltimore] True Union.

Baltimore Wecker.

- * [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- * Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- [Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- * Cambridge Democrat and News.
- Centreville Times.
- Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
- Charlestown News.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- [Cockeysville] Baltimore County Advocate.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
- Cumberland Civilian.
- Cumberland Miners' Journal.
- Cumberland Telegraph.
- Denton Journal.
- [Denton?] Maryland Sentinel.
- Easton Gazette.
- * Easton Star.
- [Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
- * [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Howard County Gazette.
- [Ellicott's Mills] Times.
- Frederick Herald.
- * [Frederick] Examiner.
- * [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
- [Frederick] Times.
- * [Frederick] True Democrat.
- [Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
- [Hagerstown] Weekly Herald of Freedom.
- [Hagerstown] Mail.
- [Hagerstown] News.

- [Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
 [Hagerstown] People's Own.
 [Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace
 Advertiser.
 [Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.
 [Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
 [Middletown] Catoctin Whig.
 Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
 [Princess Anne] Eastern Shoreman.
 [Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.
 Reisterstown Whig.
 Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.
 [Smithsburg] Trumpet.
 [Snow Hill] Worcester County Shield, Spirit of the
 Whig Press.
 [Towsontown?] Baltimore County Whig.
 [Towsontown?] Baltimore County Jacksonian.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.
 [Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.
 [Westminster] American Sentinel.
 * [Westminster] Carrolltonian.
 Westminster Democrat and Carroll Co. Republican.
 [Williamsport] Banner of the Union (?).
 [Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

1854

- * [Annapolis] Annapolis Gazette.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Gazette.
 [Annapolis] Maryland Republican and State Capital
 Advertiser.
 [Annapolis] State Capital Gazette.
 * [Baltimore] American and Commercial Advertiser.
 * [Baltimore] American Farmer.
 [Baltimore] Bote der Neuen Kirche.
 [Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.
 Baltimore Clipper.

- [Baltimore] Constitution.
- [Baltimore] Daily American Times.
- [Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.
- [Baltimore] Dispatch. (?)
- [Baltimore] Evening Patriot.
- * [Baltimore] Flag of Our Union.
- Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.
- [Baltimore and Washington] Huntress.
- [Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.
- [Baltimore] Literary Journal.
- [Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- * Baltimore Price Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce.
- Baltimore Public Ledger.
- * [Baltimore] Republican and Argus.
- [Baltimore] Spirit of '76.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Sunday Dispatch.
- [Baltimore] Times and Ledger.
- [Baltimore] True American.
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- [Baltimore] Turn-Zeitung.
- * Baltimore Wecker.
- * [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- [Baltimore] Weekly Clipper.
- * [Baltimore] Weekly Dispatch.
- * Baltimore Weekly Patriot.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- [Bel Air] Harford Gazette.
- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
- Centreville Times.

- Centreville Weekly Sentinel and General Advertiser.
Charlestown News.
[Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
[Chester Town] Kent News.
[Cockeysville] Baltimore County Advocate.
Cumberland Alleganian.
Cumberland Civilian.
Cumberland Miners' Journal.
Cumberland Telegraph.
Denton Journal.
Easton Gazette.
* Easton Star.
[Elkton] Cecil Democrat.
* [Elkton] Cecil Whig.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Free Press.
[Ellicott's Mills] Howard Gazette.
[Ellicott's Mills] Times.
Frederick Herald.
[Frederick] Maryland Union.
* [Frederick] Examiner.
* [Frederick] Republican Citizen.
[Frederick] Times.
Hagerstown Chronicle.
[Hagerstown] Herald and Torchlight.
[Hagerstown] Herald of Freedom.
Hagerstown Mail.
Hagerstown News
[Hagerstown] Odd-Fellow.
[Hancock] Weekly Gazette.
[Havre de Grace] Harford Madisonian and Havre de Grace
Advertiser.
[Leonardtown] St. Mary's Beacon.
[Liberty-Town] Banner of Liberty.
[Middletown] Catoctin Whig.
Port Tobacco Times and Charles County Advertiser.
[Princess Anne] Somerset Herald.

Reisterstown Whig.

Rockville Journal and Montgomery County Advocate.

[Rockville] Montgomery County Sentinel.

[Snow Hill] Worcester County Shield, Spirit of the
Whig Press.

[Towsontown] Baltimore County Advocate.

[Towsontown] Baltimore County Whig.

[Upper Marlboro'] Marlboro' Gazette.

[Upper Marlboro'] Planter's Advocate.

[Westminster] American Sentinel.

[Westminster] American Trumpet.

* Westminster Carrolltonian.

Westminster Democrat and Carroll Co. Republican.

[Williamsport] Banner.

[Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

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* [Annapolis] Annapolis Gazette.

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Advertiser.

* [Baltimore] American and Commercial Advertiser.

* [Baltimore] American Democrat.

* [Baltimore] American Farmer.

[Baltimore] Catholic Mirror.

* Baltimore Clipper.

[Baltimore] Constitution.

* [Baltimore] Daily Argus.

[Baltimore] Daily Register.

* [Baltimore] Daily Republican.

[Baltimore] Deutsche Correspondent.

[Baltimore] Evening Patriot.

[Baltimore] Flag of Our Union.

Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.

[Baltimore] Journal of Commerce and Price Current.

[Baltimore] Lutheran Observer.

- * [Baltimore] Monthly Reporter & Advertiser.
- [Baltimore] Mutual Rights and Methodist Protestant.
- Baltimore Patriot and Commercial Gazette.
- * [Baltimore] Republican and Argus.
- * [Baltimore] Sun.
- [Baltimore] Sunday Dispatch.
- [Baltimore] True Union.
- [Baltimore] Turn-Zeitung.(?)
- Baltimore Wecker.
- * [Baltimore] Weekly Argus.
- [Baltimore] Weekly Clipper.
- * Baltimore Weekly Patriot.
- Baltimore Weekly Sun.
- [Bel Air] Harford Republican.
- Boonsboro' Odd Fellow.
- Boonsboro' Times.
- Cambridge Chronicle.
- [Cambridge] Democrat and News.
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- Charlestown News.
- [Chester Town] Kent Conservator.
- [Chester Town] Kent News.
- Cumberland Alleganian.
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 [Westminster] American Sentinel.
 * [Westminster] American Trumpet.
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 [Williamsport] Banner.
 [Williamsport] Modern Times and Home Journal.

(To be Continued.)

THE PROPRIETARY MANORS AND HUNDREDS OF ST. MARY'S, OLD CHARLES, CALVERT, NEW CHARLES AND PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTIES.

By HENRY J. BERKLEY.

Within a few months after the Maryland Colony of 1634 had determined upon a place of settlement, and additional settlers had begun to arrive; under the direction of Robert Simpson, Surveyor General to the Lord Baltimore, deputy surveyors were sent out to view the country, ascertain distinctive lines for measurements, and apportion grants to the several applicants. The rivers and streams were generally used as the most permanent and enduring lines of triangulation. Captain Henry Fleete and John Lewger are the first names mentioned among the early patentees, the one for four thousand, the other for three thousand acres. The dates were respectively 1633 and 1636. (Calvert Paper, 192.)

In order to apportion grants of land to patentees, it was necessary that they have a definite location as well as a definite designation. This was done by dividing the land into Proprietary Manors, then afterwards out of the greater, to subdivide them into individual manors for large tracts, and plantations and farms for smaller ones. First came the erection of the great Proprietary Manors of East and West St. Mary's. The line of division between them became the St. George, now the St. Mary's River. All East of this River was to be in the Manor of East St. Mary's, its boundary lines ill-defined as it extended beyond the waters of the Patuxent River and along the Bay side through the forest for many miles. The Manor of West St. Mary's comprised all the territory lying between the Patuxent and Potomac Rivers westward of the St. George River, most of it unknown and unexplored. This simple arrangement of Proprietary Manors lasted for some years, until by the gradual increase of the population subdivision into regions less wide and extensive was necessitated, and in which the ownership of

land could be more definitely defined; then little by little others were established.

The first of these secondary Manors seems to have been established in 1637 (*Arch.*, Vol. I), when North of the Patuxent River the Manor of Patuxent was erected. This Manor was to last only for a comparatively few years, when it was absorbed in the greater Manor of Calverton, whose history continued until the loss of the ownership of the Lords Baltimore in the Colony at the time of the Revolution.

For many years after the foundation of the colony the drift of the population was along the courses of the main waterways. It is often surprising to find how early grants were made long distances from the center of population—St. Mary's City. Thomas Copley, for instance, warranted an extensive site in 1638 on the East side of Port Tobacco Creek, afterwards St. Thomas Manor, as well as other lands on the Nanjemy; and Thomas Cornwallis, the great landholder of his colonial age, was granted several extensive tracts on Piscataway Creek, almost at the head of tidewater.

As the population increased in certain localities it became necessary to erect smaller political subdivisions of the great Manors that they might be governed locally, and not in general from St. Mary's City. Captains of the militia seem to have been the first officials appointed, later civil officials. When Counties were erected the Commander and Sheriff had full charge, and were to report to the central government. The subdivisions were called Hundreds; that is, when the number of souls within its boundaries reached the number of an hundred, they were entitled to have a representative in the General Assembly. This was subsequent to the session of the Assembly of 1638, when Cornwallis and his followers changed the character of the legislative body to the burgess system, before which time every freeman had a right to sit in the legislative halls.

Without question, the first Hundred to be constituted was that of St. Mary's City with the adjacent Townlands, which were quite extensive (1637). It was shortly followed by the Hundred of Mattapany (1638), and others along the bayside and

Potomac River in East St. Mary County. Gradually the Hundreds were extended, until by 1698, the date of the last one—New Scotland—the whole country, up to the heads of the Patuxent on the one side and the head of tidewater on the Potomac River side had been filled with these small subdivisions.

Approximately, 1659,¹ possibly a good deal earlier, the new Proprietary Manor of Zachia was created, and the division line between West St. Mary and it set at the Bird River. There is no record of the erection of this Manor, and the same may be written of all the Proprietary Manors and most of the Hundreds. The dates of their constitution has therefore to be drawn from the first ascertainable patent assigned to the locality either in the Rent Rolls or in the records of the surveyors, whose duty it was to place every plot surveyed within a given Manor. The name Zachia Manor is only to be found in the letters of Charles Calvert, and in the surveys. Books one and two of Charles Boteler, deputy under Jerome White and Baker Brooke, Surveyors General of the Western Shore and other surveyors always assign a Proprietary Manor at the foot of their mensurations. These records have been preserved in what is known as the Hill Papers in the vaults of the Maryland Historical Society, and comprise, approximately a thousand surveys. Evidently there have been records of this Province that have been destroyed, lost, or have not yet been discovered.

To repeat, the dates of the erection of any and all of the Proprietary Manors have to be drawn from the first patents of the locality in the Rent Rolls and the land surveys of the period in which they were formed.

Zachia Manor extended from the West boundary of St. Mary's County, and Manor of West St. Mary at the Bird River, westward to Mattawoman Creek on the Potomac River, to the headwaters of the streams running into it, that is to say all the territory within the limits of Charles County as erected in the year 1658, under Governor Stone.

¹ There are no dates in the Archives of the State for the erection of any of the Proprietary Manors. We are dependent for dates on the Rent Rolls and Surveyors books for them.

CALVERT COUNTY MANORS AND HUNDREDS,
Erected 1654.

It included the whole of Old Charles County,
as erected in 1650.

Old Charles County was constituted in 1650 with Robert Brooke as Commander. He was deposed from his trust four years later. At this date the limits of Charles County were confined to the South bank of the Patuxent River, from the mouth of Pine Hill Creek; and its breadth was hardly more than ten miles at any point from the margin of the River. It was cut entirely out of the County of St. Mary and the Proprietary Manors of East and West St. Mary's. After the deposition of Brooke it was re-erected not only to include the Old County of Charles, but was expanded on the North side of the Patuxent River up to "Mr. Marsche's Creek," about the line of the present Fishing Creek, where it met the border of Ann Arundel County; thence westward in a straight line to again meet the waters of the River. The limits of Calvert County so remained until the Assembly constituted the new County of Prince George in May 1695, an edict that went into effect the following year. This County was erected out of lands that hitherto had been within the Proprietary Manor of Calverton, which, as a whole, had extended from the bayside, as high as Plum Point, to the sources of the several streams forming the main Patuxent River. In the higher part of this area, that is westward in the neighborhood of the present College Park and Hyattsville, the watershed between the Potomac and Patuxent Rivers was known as Calverton Ridge, and is so recorded by the Surveyor General of the Western Shore, Clement Hill, Jr.

The Hundreds in Calvert County on the North side of the Patuxent River were:

The Lower Clifts,	erected about	1650.
The Upper Clifts,	" "	1650.
Greater Eltonhead,	" "	1664.
St. Leonard's,	" "	1652.
Lyons Creek,	" "	1660.

The Hundreds on the South side of the River were all formed from the Proprietary Manors of East and West St. Mary's and were, with one exception, erected before the constitution of Old Charles County.

They were, progressively, from the bayside and mouth of the Patuxent River, going up the stream to the West:

The Hundred of Mattapany, erected 1638.

The Hundred of Harvey, " 1660.

The Hundred of the Resurrection about 1642.

The Old County was further subdivided by non-proprietary Manors of vast extent. St. Valentine's Manor lay at the confluence of the River and the Bay, with next to it the Manor of Conception, dating about the year 1640, with next above it the Manor of Mattapany-Sewell, 1663. Next, westward lay the Manor of St. Richard, 1640, then that of St. Joseph, 1641, the Resurrection, 1642, St. Cuthbert's, 1641, and lastly the Manor of Cinquak, better known as de la Brooke Manor, patented by Baker Brooke in 1658. Beyond this last Manor, upwards of the stream, were lesser holdings mainly belonging to Major Thomas Truman, and higher than all these, at the confluence of St. Charles Branch with the main River, was the Manor of Mount Calvert, surveyed in 1651 for Secretary Philip Calvert, but not patented until 1658, after the Puritan Rebellion had subsided. The whole of this region South of Indian Creek was eventually, restored to St. Mary's County, as stated, in 1696.

As has been mentioned the several Hundreds along the South bank of the Patuxent River originally belonged to St. Mary's East and West Manors. The divisional line between Old Charles, and the earlier constituted County in 1650, was made at Pine Hill Run, a name still in existence. At the above date, on both sides of the Run lay the Manor or Hundred of St. Valentine. In the records, this Hundred is mentioned only a few times, then only at early dates. It seems later to have been absorbed into other Hundreds; largely into the Town Lands of St. Mary's City. Before 1642 it was fairly well settled; then it seems to have lost its population to a considerable extent,

and finally, in large part reverted to Leonard and William Calvert.

The Hundreds in East St. Mary's Proprietary Manor were:

St. Valentine's	erected	circa	1638.
St. Nicholas,	"	"	1638.
Trinity,	"	"	1638.
St. Inegoe's	"	"	1638.
St. Mary City and Townlands 1637. ²			

In West St. Mary's Proprietary Manor there were erected, always passing toward the sources of the Potomac River, the Hundreds of:

St. George,	erected	in	1637.
St. Michael,	"	"	1640.
Poplar Hill,	"	"	1640.
Newtown,	"	"	1646.
St. Clement,	"	"	1639.
Choptico,	"	"	1642.

The last Hundred brings one up to the boundary line between West St. Mary's and that of the New Charles County, the Bird River.

NEW CHARLES COUNTY,

Erected 1658.

This County was constituted in 1658, by or under Governor Stone, shortly after the suppression of the Puritan Rebellion. It extended westward from the centre of the Wiccommico River, to the centre of the channel of the Bird River, thence onto the sources of the streams flowing into this River, thence as far West as Mattawoman Creek to the heads of the affluents of this creek. It took in the entire extent of the Proprietary Manor of Zachia from its East to its West Limits. The actual date of

² There is once mentioned in the Archives of Maryland a St. Margaret's Hundred in East St. Mary Proprietary Manor, but no location is given, and the name does not recur. The orthography of the Hundreds is that of the Rent Rolls.

the foundation of Zachia Manor has not been found, but it was evidently previous to the framing of the County. Governor Stone was largely interested in land that he had patented within its borders, especially along the Potomac River.

The Hundreds within the area of this County were:

Wiccommico,	erected in 1642.
Newport,	" " 1642.
Portoback,	" " 1638 or 1642.
Pykawaxen,	" " 1649.
Riverside,	" " 1653.
Nanjemoy,	" " 1657.
Chingamuxen,	" " 1653. ³

THE PROPRIETARY MANOR OF PANGUAH,

Erected 1668.

Along the borderside of the Potomac River to the heads of the several runs flowing into it, and in particular between Mattawoman and Piscataway Creeks, lay the Indian Reservation of Panguah; the Mattawoman Creek being the western limit of the Manor of Zachia. After 1668 this region was closed to European settlers.

At the time of the above year, the care of the scattered tribes of natives had become a burden to the Colony, and their protection from the Susquehannochs who were actively trying to decimate and enslave them, a moral necessity as well as a matter of policy for the government. It was, finally, decided by the authorities to concentrate the tribes upon certain lands between Mattawoman and Piscataway creeks, in which they would own their own lands for cultivation, have towns and a fort to which they could retire in case of attack from the outside, and where they could be assisted in any foray by the Northern Indians. All the tribes were to be under the control of the Emperor of Piscataway. In general, this arrangement lasted until 1696, when a murder occurred upon the slave of a planter. The Indians

³ Again we note that all dates are taken from the first patent within the territories.

fearing retaliatory measures would be taken against them by the militia fled in a body to the headwaters of Occoquan Creek in Virginia (*Md. Arch.*, Vol. XX, pp. 456-571). Attempts were made by a Commission to bring them back to their own countryside, which resulted in failure, and shortly their lands were occupied by an influx of new settlers. There were no Hundreds within this Manor, and the surveyors, in their description of plots of land, always refer to a plantation as being within the Manor of Panguah.

PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY,

Erected 1695-6.

This County was formed entirely out of the great Manor of Calverton, the most extensive of all, in which the political administration of Calvert County had long functioned. By the year of its erection the upper ends of Calvert County had a large population, sufficient to warrant the establishment of a new County, and the appointment of executive officers for its administration. Calvert County lost its most fertile lands and a very important part of its people in the change.

In Prince George's County with one exception all of the Hundreds were established before the separation from Calvert.

Those on the Patuxent River side were:

Mount Calvert, erected 1670.

Patuxent, " 1670.

Collington, " 1670.

On the Potomac River side the Hundreds were:

Piscataway, erected 1670.

New Scotland, " 1698.⁴

⁴ The name New Scotland occurs in the Maryland Archives as early as 1688 and probably took this designation from a colony of Scotchmen who settled on the Eastern Branch of the Potomac River at a considerably earlier date, but were looked upon as "interlopers" and discouraged. Most of these eventually went to the neighborhood of Dumfries, lower down on the river, where there was already a considerable number of their countrymen.

Prince George's County has the distinction of being the only one of these political subdivisions among the earlier ones that was organized under the Royal and not under the Proprietary government, and has the St. George Cross as its distinctive emblem.

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Book A. Land Records of St. Mary's County.

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LETTER FROM SARAH MUNROE TO MARY MASON.

The author of this letter was a member of the Munroe family of Lexington, Mass., and the incident described, the entertainment of General Washington, is a matter of record elsewhere. The letter is so remarkably clever in every detail that it *may be* apocryphal, but its interest entitles it to publication, in spite of this possibility. A brief memorandum concerning the Munroe family appears at the end of the letter.

November 1789.

My ever deare Mary:

I crave your patience in this Epistle, as I must finish it to go by the Sunday Coach, and therefore indight it by a bad candle, dip'd, I warrant, by Brother Jonas, who is ever slack in all except his play. We have had great doings here. Our Loved President has journied here to Lex. & has took dinner at our very House. I suppose you, in the Great City of New York,

can have little interest in the small haps of a Country Town, but remember that it is the birth-place of you, and of American Freedom. I suppose, by this time, the Boston news have reached you, with the relation of the Journey of Mr. Washington to Boston and of his reseption therein, how he stood many hours in the peircing Wind, waiting for an end to the bickerings of the Honourable Selectmen, and how, thereby, he incurred a most vile Grippe wh. his loyal subjects thereupon took to themselves, being only too Happy, so they declare, to share even the Infloowenza with the Noble Washington. But know you, what the News-letter have doubtles not recount'd, that this very Infloowenza has been to my Respected Step-mother the cause of much Distres. For you must know that our reverend Parson having gone to Town of a friday, to see the great President and to aske the helth of his Cous the Wurshipfull Gov. Hancock, w^{ch} is sorely plaged with the Gowt, comes back with the tydings that Mr. Washington with Gen. Lincoln and many others with him, was Minded to come to Lexington of the Monday folowing, being the 26th of the last mo. And thereupon did the Parson make, on the Sabbath, 3 most eddyfying Discourses, tending to prepare our Hearts for the Visit, (they being, of a course, Decent, and touching upon Worldly things only so far as might be Seemly.) Now, after 2d meeting, my respected Step-mother had much ado whether or no she could put the Pyes and pudings w^{ch} we, with the aid of Mistress Downing and your Worthy Mother, had prepar'd on the Saturday, into the Oven on a Sabbath afternoon afore the Sun setting. Hapily the afternoon was over-cast and the hour of Setting come early. Then did we all, exsept the Children who have little care in these maters but to require to be constant Chid, set up the whole night to watch the oven lest some misschance befall the contents. You may juge we looked befrowse'd, come Morning, but soon after cock-Crow came a messenjer rid out at the Comand of the Sec't of the wurshipfull Gov^{or}, to tell us that Mr. Washington was to sick, the infloowenza having seized his left Eye, to attend us, the day being Raw and blusterry. Then such a borling as was heard from the children, espesially Lucindy, who is ever forward in the making of noyse,

and my step-mother was like to say hard words dispite the Parson his so recent eddyfying Discourses. Now was great Questioning if his Highness (for so I like to call him) w come to our Town at all, till at last 'twas rumered that having great Desire to see the field of Lexington, therefore he w turn his road in this direction on his coming back from the State of New Hamshire. Mother, thereupon, bad Lucindy, who still borled lustly, to make her respects to naybors Mulliken and Downing (and I warant you Naybors Mason were not forgot) and to ask them come eat the President his Feast. They all come in good time and my honnered Father set out to make them Merry, but 'twas easy seen that he tho't naybor Downing but a sorry make-shift for his expected guest. Your good parrents be, of a course, always Wellcome.

But you must be uneasy to hear tell of Mr. Washington his real Visit. 'Twas on thursday last, and Wednesday, you may be bound, was a bussy day, what with baking and mixing and the Brewing of a fresh Lot of beer for the Flip. Then to, had all the plate to be scow'r'd and the brases rubbed and the Floors new sanded ('tis a shame to my thinking, that we sh have no carpet when even the Taylor, Master Bond, hath one) and my ribbands and gown to be furbish'd, for 'twas decided that none but Lucindy sh have a new frock, so I had to go without, while she, pert minx, had a most lovely Gown of green callimanco, with Plumes to her hat. I wore my old tammie which is to thin for the seeson and has, more-by-token, been turn'd.

We were not, this time, so Forward in setting up the Night, as we were mightly tyred, you may beleive. Come Morning 'twas clear, tho' somewhat Frosty, and good sister Anna minding to stay home & help Step-mother lay the table, Jonas & Edmund & I and the pert Lucindy, who is truely a great cross to me, set out for the Green. 'Twas tho't that Mr. Washington wo^d come by ten of the clock, but 'twas full noon ere he come. As he must enter by the road by the Parson's, I was for Walking out to meet him, but Jonas would not, wether from Sloth or from fear, I know not. Betimes Mr. Washington appeared, bestridding a most handsome White horse. He wore a millitary Habit, much

like that of my Worthy Father, only gayer and with fine things, I mind not what they call 'em, on the showlders. His Hat he wore under his arm, and he bent himself to the one side and the other as he Passed. I promise you we huzzared stoutly, but he bowed not, only leaned, as one sh^d say, towards us. Beside him road the Hon^{ble} Mr. Phillips, the Worshippfull President of the Sennate. Behind come the two Seccretar Major (or Col) Jackson & Mr. Tobbias Lear, & ahind all grined a Black man. Over against the Meeting house stood to meet Mr. Washington all the great men of the Town (exsepting my father who could not be spar'd from the House) and them that was in the fight. There was the Selectmen Masters Hammond Reed, John Chandler, Amos Marrett and Joseph Smith, there was the Hon^{ble} Mr. Simons of the General Court and there was old Mr. Bridge, and Maj. John Bridge, Sarjent Brown with his cheek all scared, Nath. Farmer with his arm in a sling, tho' 'twas well, years agone, well favorred Master Chandler who has gone and marryed more's the pitty and is to be a Capⁿ in the Millisha, many Harringtons & Smiths and Sundry others, not forgetting Prince Estabrook the Black man, who was being made ackwaintid, tho' stiffly, with Mr. Washington his servants, who had come up with his Coach. And there in the front was your father and the Parson. Your dad w^d have held the Pres^t his stirup, but he w^d not permitt of it, & threw himself from the sadle with a Jump, for 'tis said he is wonderus strong, tho' so old. Then was there some figetting, none knowing what 'twas fiting to do. But Mr. Washington let them not stand long abbashed, for he said, "Where is Leftenant Tidd, who was next to Cap'n Parker?" and when they put Master Tidd forward, the President gave him a fine grasp of the hand, saying nought, however. Then took he respectfully the Parson his Hand, saying, "Our distinguish'd and dear Friend the Hon^{ble} Govener has told me much of his fearless Kinsman, Parson Clark." Then followed some Speach which I heard not, daring to venture no nearer than I was, being that I had an old Frock, and compeled to hold back Lucindy. Soon the whole Troupe betook themselves to the Spot where the Blood was spilled.

Mr. Washington seemed something sollem at first, but soon waxed livlyer and asked many questions, they told me, of the Fight. He would, moreover, see the Houses round about, and when he entered Mr. Buckman his Tavern, I was in great figget till he come out, fearing lest he might be entreated into Eating there. At last it being close onto two of the clock, the hour set for the dining, we set out, the Prest^t and the rest riding and walking at the head, and the Coach and the Townsfolk tagging after, huzzaring and waving kerchefts. 'Twas a pitty we gave him no set speach as 'twas did in many Towns no bigger than ours, and your father could have writ it exselent. When we come to the house there stood my Father and step-mother at the tap-room Door, Anna and the naybors skulking in the parlour. My Father looked grandly in his rejimentels and proud indeed was I of him as he led the way to the Dinner-room prepar'd for Mr. Washington in the upper room, looking towards your House. 'Twas arrang'd that my step-mother dish the vittles in the kitch'n, yours should bring them to the stares (the short way, though knows't, thro' the shop & the Tap-room) and then my father sho^d serve them to the gests. 'Twas permitted me to stand in the corner betwixt the windows, to give what help was needed. We had a right fine feast, I can tell you, and much of it, roasted Beef, a showlder of pork, Chickens, pyes, Puddings, Syillybubs, and, best of all, some fine young Pigens sent in by the Widow Mulliken. Mr. Washington would have none but plane things, however, saying, as my Father handed the others to him, That is to good for me. When the pigens, of which there was but a few, were served, the Prest^t said Are all these fine kiekshores for my servants to? My Father stamering that he had not tho't to give them Such, his Highness bade the dish of Squobs be divided in half that his Black men, forsooth, might have the same as him. During the dining he talked of little other than the Vilenes of the Roads, calling them as Blind and Ignorent as the directions of the Inhabittents. He had more to say than was seemley, to my thinking, of the Ladyes, how hansome he found them, their black Hair being to his liking. He was exceeding Frugall in

his drinking, as well as in his Feeding, for he took but one Mug of beer and two glasses of wine during the whole meal. After the second Glass he related sundry Anekdotes, but with such gravity & slowness that none durst smile. He told us that Mr. Franklin having been much Vexed in England by the British complaneing that the Yankees, as they term us, took a wrong advantage on the 19th of April, in firing from behind Stone-walls, the great phileosofer had retort'd "Were they not two sides to the Walls?" The only other Storey I mind his telling is of his having come to a Tavern where the Host was away and where they had to arowse the Mistress, she being in bed; on hearing that the President was below, seeking shelter, she would have nought to do with him, believing him to be but the President of the little Yale Colledge in Conn. A most diverting Thing took place after this: Mr. Washington, you must know, is much bestirred over Farming matters and had much to ask of the crops et cetra, and so talking, he turned to Mr. Marratt and asked if he tho't not that the hogs in N. E. have exseeding long legs; this well-nigh upsett the comp'y, for you must know that 'twas Mr. Marrett who, at the last town meeting, contend'd that the Hogs sh^d be impownded, &, more by token, he will soon be named for Hogreave himself, being about to Marry. The mirth at this might have prov'd Unbecoming had not just then arose a great cracking and howling. We rushed to the window and there in the butt'nwood Tree was Jonas, clinging to the fril of Lucindy's skirt, and she dangeling in mid-air. Before we could get out of the room, one of the Blackmen had climbed the tree and caught Lucindy by the Neck like a Cat, and carryed her down. The silly child had led Jonas into Climbing the tree with her to look in at the dinner-room Window, and a limb having snapped she wo^d but for Jonas, have broke her neck. Her new frock was quite spoyled. After the meal my Father shew the comp'y the Massonic Hall over the shop for Mr. Washington is a mason, but, sayes my Father, a very lukewarm one, thro' Pollicy. The forwerd Lucindy had meanwhile been put into an apon to hyde the Rents in her frock, and now she pushed herself into the President his presense. He notised her, perforce, and

the minx was thereat Bold enough to intreat him go with her to get Pares from the old button-pare tree in the Hollow. He indulgently consent'd & she led him thither. He raised her in his arms that she might reach the Pares, and on leting her down, I cannot Sware to it, but I firmly beleive, that he gave her a Smack. She is quite to Old, to my thinking, for such foldyrol. His Highness then stood for a while afore the House, admiring at the trees, himself the center of all Eyes. Spying something White behind the wall opposite he querried what it might be, at w^{ch} we well-nighe burst with larffing, for in truth, 'twas your Granney herself, who had crawled up with much ado, & who was now peeping, her Cap all a-wry to see the Prest^t.

The Sun being now low, Mr. Washington entered his carriage, and started off to-wards Watertown, having denied a Mug of Flip which my Father, with much pains, had prepar'd. Messiers Tobyas Lear and Jackson and the Black men did not say him nay, tho', I warant you.

I have burned 3 Dips, which is sinfull, & have set up long beyond Bell-ringing to send you this, so now must I stop.

Your ever affectionate,

Sally.

Post-scriptum. The President payed no Heed to me w^{ch}, indeed, I would not have alowed, as did Lucindy.

Post-scriptum 2. If thou have a new Shalloon for Madam Washington's Friday route, do not akwaint me of it, lest I die with coveting.

William Munro ¹, son of Robert of Aldie, was born in 1625 and died 27 January, 1717, aged 92, at Lexington, Mass. Fought at the battle of Worcester, England, was taken prisoner and deported to America, and settled at Lexington. In 1665 he married Martha George, by whom he had George ², who by his wife Sarah, had William ³, who married Rebecca Locke, and had Isaac ⁴, who by his first wife Mary Hutchinson had Isaac ⁵, who married Abigail Richardson, by whom he had Isaac ⁶, born in West Cambridge, Mass., April 26, 1785.

This Isaac married Emily Wheeler of New Ipswich, N. H., Oct. 28, 1807; he was the publisher of the "Boston Patriot," established in 1809; in 1812 he removed to Baltimore with his two young sisters, Caroline and Abigail, and established the "Baltimore Patriot," which he conducted for more than a half a century; he died 22 Dec. 1859, without issue.

A brother, Nathan Winship Munroe, was a painter of promise, studied with Gilbert Stuart, but died in 1817 at the age of twenty-eight.

Another brother, Alvan, printer, was at the battle of North Point, and died in New Orleans in 1820, aged twenty-five years.

Compiled by William M. St. John, Esq.

MARYLAND IN 1720.

London, Aug. 25, 1720.

214. Lt. Governor Hart to the Council of Trade and Plantations. Replies to Queries proposed to him by the Board 10th Augt. (i) Maryland is situated in the center of the British Plantations. The climate is unhealthy, especially to strangers, occasion'd by the excessive heat in summer, and extreme cold in winter; the vernal and autumnal quarters are attended with fevers, plurisies, etc. The inhabitants are generally a well natur'd and most hospitable people; and much the greater part, zealously affected to H. M. Government and the Protestant interest. The soil is of different kinds, but most of it sandy and of various colours: which when cultivated with little labour gives a vast increase, and produces all things necessary for life, that Great Britain affords; with which the inhabitants plentifully provide for their subsistence, and might have sufficient to vend at foreign marketts but that the making of tobacco employs all their time and care. This Province has many great and navigable rivers etc. Forest trees are large and tall, as in any part of the Continent, etc. (ii) Maryland is bounded by

Pennsylvania, the river Pattowmeck, Delaware Bay and the main ocean, and, on the west by the meridian line of the first fountains of the River Pattowmeck—which has not yet been discovered. (iii) The Lord Baltimore is hereditary Governor, etc. (iv) From the time H. M. has been pleas'd to restore the Lord Baltimore to his Government, it is administered in the same manner, as when I had formerly the honour to be Governor by commission immediately from the Crown, save that in the enacting of laws, holding of Courts, issueing of process, and granting Commissions, the Lord Proprietor's name is solely made use of: as was always done by his Lordsp's. noble ancestors: the Crown having made no reservation in the grant of that Province; the faith and allegiance of the people, and sovereign dominion thereof excepted. (iv)(*sic*) Tobacco is ye principal trade of the Province, thence exported to Great Britain; and some to the Plantations; as also grain, beef, pork, and lumber; for which they have in return rum and sugar. To Madeira with corn, for wine; But this article is for ye most part purchased by bills of exchange. The number of shipping is uncertain, that depending on the quantity of tobacco made in the country. But for some years past, there has been about 100 sails of ships from G. Britain; which computed at 130 tons each, makes 13000 tons: and allowing 16 men to each ship, is 1600 seafaring men. The Province have only 4 small brigantines owned in the country, and not more than 20 sloops from the sea: The inhabitants are not inclin'd to navigation, but depend on British bottoms, for export and importation of the bulk of their trade. (v) They wear the like clothing and have the same furniture for their houses with those in G. Britain: The slaves are cloathed with cottens, kerseys, flannel and coarse linnens all imported; and by the best computation I could make there is consumed of British manufactures about £20,000 pr. ann. (vi) This Province trades with no foreign Plantation besides Madeira for wine; nor to any part of Europe but Great Britain, except Lisbon when corn is scarce, for which they have returns in money. (vii) Besides the Instructions given the Governor by the Crown, H. M. has Collectors of the Cus-

toms, Surveyors and riding officers to prevent illegal trade: and I do believe the same to be effectual. (vii) Tobacco is the staple commodity, which is exported to Great Britain to the number of 30 to 35,000 hhds. per ann. Whilst tobacco answers in its price the planters' labour, all manufactures, or trade that may arise from the produce of the country are laid aside as it is at this time. (ix) No mines are yet discover'd, except iron of which there is great quantity of oar, but none worked, for want of persons with a sufficient stock and skill to undertake it. (x) The annual produce of the commodities of this Province is computed at £150,000 in their favour, free of all charges. (xi) Number of white inhabitants, 1719, 55,000; of blacks, 25,000. (xii) The inhabitants are much increased of late years; by those born in the country; by the rebels imported from Preston; by the great number of convicts; by the purchase of slaves and by many poor families, who transport themselves from Ireland. (xiii) Militia, about 8,000 well arm'd and excellent marksmen. (xiv) There are no forts nor places of defence: But I have, at the publick charge, lately built a large magazine at Annapolis, which is well provided with spare arms, for 1200 foot and 600 horse, with great quantity of ammunition; to maintain which and to make a further provision of arms etc. there is a duty of 3d. per hhd. laid by Act of Assembly on all tobacco exported. (xv) The Indians who dwell within the inhabitants do not exceed 500, with whom I have always liv'd peaceably; nor cou'd I learn they ever offer'd any injury to the English, unless first provoked; then their revenge is secret and bloody. (xvi) What the number of the neighbouring Indians are is not certainly known; but reported to be many formidable nations. Maryland has little commerce with the Indns., being a Peninsula, so I was only careful to make those on the frontiers my friends, by which the Province enjoy'd a perfect tranquility during my Government. (xvii) There are no Europeans nearer than the Spaniards at Augustines; and the French on Mississippi to the Southward; and on the Lakes, and at Canada, to the nor'ward. (xviii) I have not heard of any ill effects the French settlements on the Continent

to the Southward, has, as yet, on H. M. Plantations; save that the French use all imaginable arts to engage the Indians in their interest; the consequence of which is too obvious, to admit of a comment to your Lordships. (xix) There is Revenue arising to the Crown, all royalties being in the Lord Baltemore, to whom the profits are appropriated. (xx) The provision for the support of a Governor is by a duty of 12d. per hhd. on all tobacco exported, and 3d. per ton. on all ships and vessells entring; both these duties are by Act of Assembly. The other extraordinary charges of the Government are provided for by ye Assembly. (xxi) The establishment both civil and military within that Government, are under the same regulation, as when the respective Governors held their Commissions, and had their Instruction immediately from the Crown: save, that all commissions are now given by, and in the Lord Proprietaries name. There are no patent officers who hold immediately from the Crown. *Signed, Jo. Hart. Endorsed, Recd. 26th Aug., Read 30th Nov. 1720. 6¾ pp. Enclosed,*

214. i. 21 Queries from the Council of Trade and Plantations to Lt. Governor Hart relating to Maryland, answered in preceding. 3½ pp. [C. O. 5, 717. Nos. 84, 84. i.]

Calendar of States Papers, Colonial series. v. 32. p. 129. [A resume of the above appears in the same volume at p. 420.]

NOTES, QUERIES, AND REVIEWS.

Rev. John Reynolds, II, who married Anne Kittlewells, and was the father of Charlotte Jane Reynolds, b. Nov. 15, 1826 at Havre de Grace, Md., and died Jan. 7, 1902, in York, South Carolina. Would like to know his dates, ancestry, and something about the Kittlewells family, evidently of Maryland.

Joseph E. Hart, Jr.,
3 King's Mountain St., York, South Carolina.

Wanted, information on the Sappington and Lanham families. Thomas Lanham, b. 1757 in Prince Georges Co., Md.; d. about 1840, in Madison Co., Kentucky; Rev. soldier; married in Maryland or Kentucky, Patience Sappington, b. about 1760 in Maryland. Who were their parents and other forbears?

Mrs. C. S. Goodknight,
4455 Kahala Ave., Honolulu, Hawaii.

Information concerning Gustavus Lilly, who married Ann DuJow and d. about 1800. He at one time lived in or near Ellicott City. Also concerning Mary Williams, b. 9 Jan. 1784, wife of Lot Ridgely, meht. of Balto. At time of marriage she lived in Prince Georges Co., Md.. She had a brother William and a sister Elizabeth. She is buried in Greenmount Cemetery. Am most anxious to locate grave of Gustavus Lilly.

Thomas M. Goodrich,
Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.

Tombstone inscription in Pipe Creek Cemetery, Carroll County, Md.:

Benjamin Bond, died September 12, 1863, aged 72 years.

When British foes spread war's alarms,
And patriots boldly rushed to arms,
He nobly joined that gallant corps
Who well defended Baltimore.

Dr. George C. Keidel is preparing an article on the Baltimore Postmaster stamps and stamped envelopes issued by Postmaster James M. Buchanan during the years 1845 to 1847. He would be glad to hear of any stamp collector having one or more of these philatelic rarities in his possession. Address, care of Copyright Office, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts: Volume 1. By
JAMES M. MAGRUDER, JR.

The Maryland genealogist, to whom this work will be of especial interest, is already aware that, with very few exceptions

(mostly early), copies of all wills probated in Maryland from the earliest down to and including those of the year 1777, are on file at the State Land Office at Annapolis. Volume 1 of *Maryland Colonial Abstracts* contains abstracts of the wills contained in Volume XLI, 1775-1777, the last of this series. Abstracts of items of genealogical interest with, of course, dates, of inventories of estates and accounts of executors or administrators of persons possessing property, who died within this period, in cases where such papers are filed at the Land Office and are traceable by means of the Land Office index, are also included in this work; and in cases where no such papers are to be found, an asterisk gives information to that effect. Mr. Magruder is to be commended for his decision to include abstracts of inventories and administration papers in this and in future volumes of his work, for he is thereby enhancing considerably the value of these volumes over and above what value they would have, had he confined himself to abstracts of wills. Maryland inventories are particularly interesting to genealogists, because, from about the year 1710 until 1800 or thereabouts, they were almost invariably signed by the "next of kin" of the deceased, by which means names of persons whose relationship to the deceased was hitherto unknown to the researcher, are sometimes brought to light. Other features of genealogical interest, which attach to such papers as inventories and accounts, are known to all researchers and need not be recited. Inventories and accounts are rare at the Maryland Land Office for the period included in Mr. Magruder's first volume, but for the preceding period, which will be comprehended by succeeding volumes, for Mr. Magruder is working backwards in point of time, inventories, except for the very early period, are almost complete, while accounts for the same period are very numerous, and it is perhaps an exceptional case in which no administrator's account of the distribution of the property of a particular deceased person is to be found. Mr. Magruder's work has the appearance of having been compiled with all due care and it has certainly involved a considerable amount of effort. It is a work which will be an asset in the libraries of American genealogists and others, and it is to be hoped that we shall not have to wait long for the next and for later volumes of this excellent series.

WILLIAM B. MARYE.

The Valley of the Delaware and its Place in American History,
by JOHN PALMER GARBER, Ph. D. Philadelphia, [1934]
\$3.50.

This volume covers a vast territory, as its name implies, covering approximately 15,000 square miles of the territory drained by the Delaware river and its tributaries. The text is interestingly written, and it is illustrated by some 60 or more half tone engravings. It is a well made and well indexed work, that should prove to be a valuable addition to libraries both public and private. At the close of his preface, Mr. Garber writes: "If the author's efforts shall lead to a fuller recognition of the importance of the Valley of the Delaware during the formative period of American history than has been accorded it, he and the many who have rendered him encouragement and assistance in the work will be gratified."

LINES

On the death of John E. Howard, Lt. Col., during the Revolution, of the 5th Regiment, Maryland line.

He died not when the martial smoke
Of Battle hung around him—
He fell not by the sabre's stroke,
Nor has the torn flag bound him.—
War's sulphury cloud away was driven
While his spirit held its course to Heaven.
When the drum gave forth its stirring roll,
The trumpet its brazen clang,
He flew, like a steed for the distant Goal,—
Where the din of the warfare rang.
He perill'd his life, and his blood was shed,
Where the Maryland line its banners spread.
He died in peace, at his own fire side,
In the fullness of years and honour,—
In the land, which enjoyed, in the height of pride,
The rights, which his arm had won her.
The graven stone to the great may rise,
But *his* prouder trophies are weeping eyes.

Baltimore Gazette, October 15, 1827.